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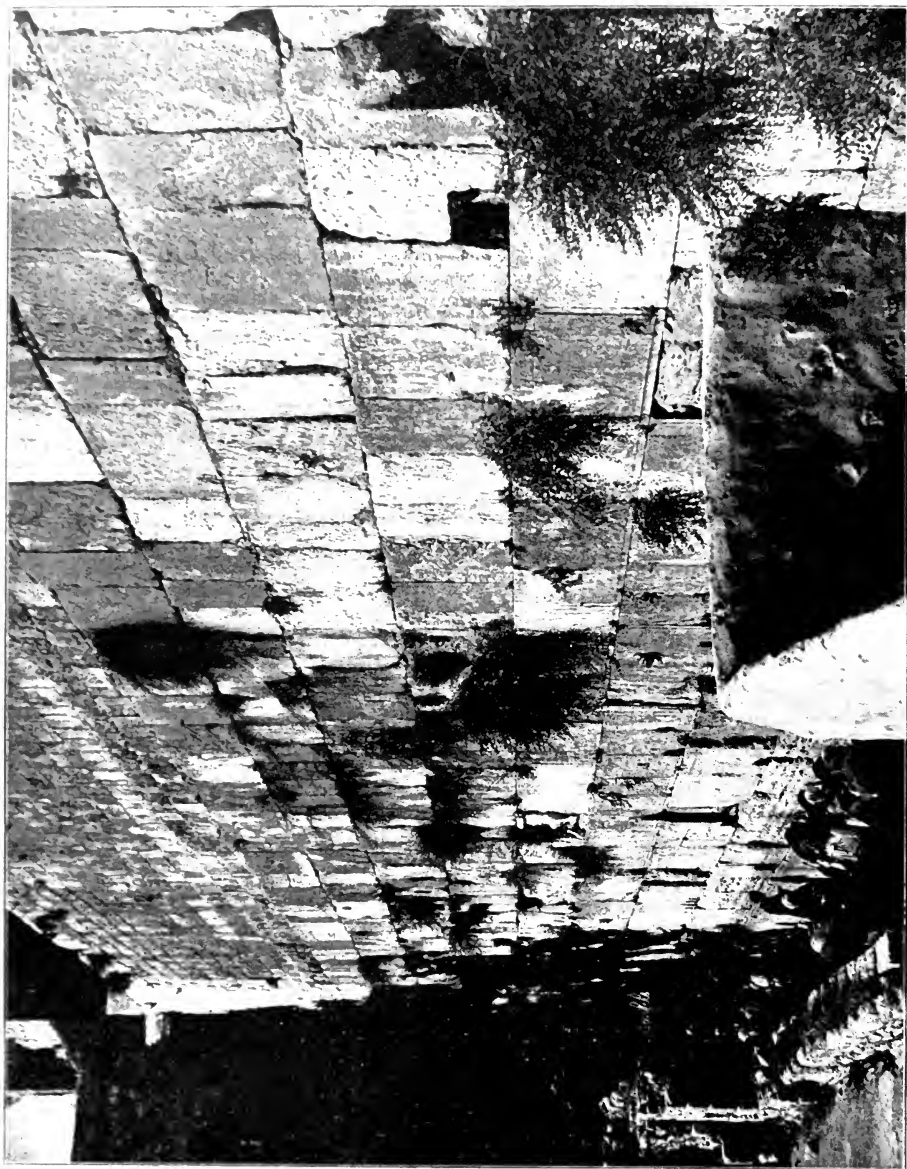
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THE WAILING PLACE OF THE JEWS AT JERUSALEM

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXIX

JANUARY, 1907

NUMBER I

Editorial

THE OUTLOOK IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The year 1906 has, on the whole, been one of progress in the work of religious education. While there have been no extraordinary developments, there have been a decided growth in appreciation of the importance of the subject, an increase in the number of those who are giving thought and intelligent effort to the promotion of the cause, and definite progress, especially in the Sunday school, in the colleges, and in the foreign mission field. Some of the facts are briefly stated in another part of this issue.

But amid the many causes for legitimate encouragement there is one phase of the situation concerning which it seems difficult to take other than a somewhat discouraging view. We refer to the relatively small number of able men who are going into the Christian ministry, and the consequent difficulty of filling positions of responsibility in the church with men who are fitted for them. The figures given in another part of this issue, inadequate as they are to exhibit the whole situation, leave no room for doubt that in this respect the church is losing ground. Parallel with a large increase in the number and membership of Protestant churches; parallel with the increase in the population of the country through birth of children to American parents and the rapid influx of foreigners by immigration; in the face of a demand and opportunity for work on the foreign field unsurpassed in the history of American Christianity, there seems to have been a decline in the number of men pursuing a thorough course of preparation for the Christian ministry. There are, indeed, some legitimate offsets to the figures in the increasing number of men going into the service of the

Young Men's Christian Association and into various forms of philanthropic work; for all these are in spirit and effect "in the ministry." But when all these have been taken into account, there still remains no room for doubt that the ministry, in the larger and in the stricter sense, is failing to win its adequate quota of able men. That as able men and as godly men are entering the ministry today as at any time in the past need not be doubted. But neither this fact, nor the large number of men who, having entered the ministry, are without employment in it, nor the valuable service rendered by the great number of men who are entering upon pastoral work without a theological education, can obscure the serious fact, obvious to anyone who is familiar with the situation, that the number of places which really need men of first-rate ability and high character is far in excess of the number of men who are available to fill them.

For this condition of things there is no quick and easy remedy. The causes that create it are deep-seated and difficult of correction. The theological unrest incident to a period of transition in religious thinking, the abounding and tempting opportunities in other professions and occupations, love for the luxuries and elegancies of life the enjoyment of which calls for a goodly income, the ambition of parents for their children—these, and others of kindred nature, are the influences that turn men of ability away from the ministry. The remedy lies only in information, education, inspiration. The officers of the International Young Men's Christian Association are rendering a valuable service in directing the attention of pastors, churches, and young men in college to the matter, and in seeking to bring home to them the real demand for ministers and the splendid opportunities of the ministry. This effort ought to be emulated and supported by all who have the interests of the Christian church at heart.

But concerning the ultimate effectiveness of one method of meeting the situation we are constrained to be decidedly skeptical. We refer to the efforts making to relieve the financial burdens of theological students and at the same time ease them from the necessity of doing ministerial work while in the theological school by largely increasing the amount of financial aid given to them. This movement is in the wrong direction. There is a traditional belief—it has become almost a fetish in the theological seminaries—that preaching while in school is

very injurious to the student. This belief has a certain basis of truth. Some men learn bad habits by such preaching; some ruin their health by overwork. But it by no means follows that men should abstain from such service altogether, still less that they should do *no* practical work while studying. It would undoubtedly be well that theological students should do more hand-to-hand and less pulpit-to-pew work than is commonly the case, and that preaching should be confined mainly to the latter part of the course, and always be done with adequate time for preparation. But with suitable safeguards it is an advantage rather than a disadvantage that the student should, while engaged in study, be also doing some kind of practical ministerial work. The attempt to relieve him of it by furnishing him, not only free tuition, but all the means needed for his support, carries with it a graver danger than those that are connected with self-support. This danger is fourfold.

In the first place, there is the danger of tempting men to enter the ministry because it is the line of least resistance financially. The teacher who would be well prepared for his profession must pay his own way, unless he can procure a fellowship by giving evidence of exceptional ability and attainment, and must then as a rule render service in compensation for the stipend received. The physician and the lawyer usually have tuition fees to pay and are at large expense for books and personal support, with few scholarships or fellowships to relieve the situation. But if a young man wishes to enter the ministry, he may obtain a stipend sufficient for practically all the expenses of the theological course, with no necessity of rendering service of any kind; and on the completion of his course may, as a rule, step at once into a pulpit, escaping the period of financial hardship which in a large number of cases awaits the lawyer and the physician. Every man drawn to the ministry by this difference in the ease of meeting the expenses of his course had better have remained out of it.

In the second place, there is danger of repelling from the ministry some of precisely the class that is most needed in it. For such a situation tends to repel high-minded men. They resent being tempted into such a work by such inducements, and they are reluctant to class themselves with men who yield to such temptations.

In the third place, there is danger of weakening the moral fiber of

men who go into the ministry and ought to do so. When a young man who could, and left to himself would, make his own way learns that a theological school or an affiliated education society is ready to relieve him of this burden by giving him a stipend sufficient for his comfortable support, he naturally reasons that such things must be right, or they would not be practiced by men of such standing and character. The temptation wins an easy victory, and the man's moral muscles are enfeebled, and his future usefulness in the ministry diminished. Nothing could be more short-sighted than a policy that tends in this direction. What the ministry calls for today is men of strong, virile character—men able to endure hardness and to command respect for the strength and purity of their character. Better still fewer men in the ministry than men of enfeebled moral fiber.

In the fourth place, there is danger that men will go out of the theological school with knowledge of books, but not of men, unfitted rather than fitted, in important respects, for the work to which they are going. Isolate the student for three years in a school one-half of whose professors are probably themselves too little in touch with the real world of 1907, too much concerned with the problems of 1850 or some previous century, and how can it be otherwise than that he should go out of the school something of a recluse? But this again is precisely what the demands of the hour bid us avoid.

Nor is there any need that we should incur these dangers. For them, as well as for those that arise from unaided self-support, the remedy is obvious. Let every body of theological students be converted into a body of Christian workers, dividing their time between study and work. Let the service rendered be veritable and valuable service, and let it be of such amount that fair compensation for it may, when added to such other means as the student may possess, make him self-supporting. Let all such work be done under the friendly but discriminating supervision and criticism of a competent and experienced adviser, and let pulpit service be under suitable restrictions as to amount and occasion. Such a plan, involving on the one hand payment for actual service rendered and, on the other, competent supervision of work done, would avoid the dangers that arise from making the path into the ministry too easy financially, and at the same time convert the service from a possible evil into a positive educational advantage.

JERUSALEM IN BIBLE TIMES

PROFESSOR LEWIS BAYLES PATON, PH.D., D.D.

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I. THE LOCATION OF THE TEMPLE

The Temple was the most important building in ancient Jerusalem. It was the center, not only of the religious, but also of the political and social life of Judea. It is more often mentioned in the Old Testament than any other place, and other places are habitually described by their relation to it. Accordingly, it furnishes the best starting-point for an investigation of the topography of ancient Jerusalem.

There is no doubt that Herod's Temple stood on the site of Solomon's Temple. Solomon's Temple remained undisturbed until its destruction by Nebuchadrezzar. This destruction was not complete. The walls were partly cast down, so that the place could not be used as a fortress; but the stones were not carried away, and it was still easy to see where the ancient edifice had stood. The three deportations of the Judeans made by Nebuchadrezzar did not strip the land of its inhabitants. According to Jer. 40:11 ff., there was a considerable remnant left under the hand of Gedaliah, the governor. Even after the assassination of Gedaliah and the flight of many to Egypt (cf. Jer. 43:5-7), there was still a considerable number of the peasantry left. These people knew where the Temple had stood, and they kept up sacrifice on the site of the old Altar. Jer. 41:5 tells us how "there came eighty men, having their beards shaven and their clothes rent, and having cut themselves, with meal-offerings and frankincense in their hand, to bring them to the house of Yahweh."

The exile lasted only fifty years (586-536 B. C.), and many of those who returned had worshiped in the old Temple and knew exactly where it stood. When the second Temple was built in 520 B. C., there were still some who had seen the Temple of Solomon in its glory. According to Ezra 3:12, "the old men that had seen

the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice." Hag. 2:3 inquires: "Who is left among you that saw this house in its former glory? and how do ye see it now? is it not in your eyes as nothing?" It is inconceivable, therefore, that the site of Solomon's Temple should have been lost during the brief period of the exile. Zerubbabel's Temple must have been reared on exactly the same spot where its predecessor stood.



THE HARAM ESH-SHERIF FROM THE SOUTHWEST

It is certain also that Herod's Temple stood on the same ground as Zerubbabel's Temple. From Josephus, *Ant.*, xv, 11:2 and *Wars*, v, 5:1, it appears that Herod's work was merely an enlargement of that of his predecessors, and that the Jews would not suffer a stone of Zerubbabel's Temple to be taken down until another stone was ready to put into its place. Accordingly, it may be regarded as certain that there was no change in the location of the Temple from the time when it was first built to the time when it was destroyed by Titus. If, then, we can determine the location of Herod's Temple,

we shall also know where Solomon's Temple stood, and shall have found the key to the problem of the pre-exilic topography of Jerusalem.

Fortunately for archaeology, the location of Herod's Temple can be determined with certainty. An unbroken tradition of Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, existing from the earliest times, locates the Temple on the site of the Ḥaram-esh-Sheriff, the "Noble Sanctuary," or "Mosque of Omar," as we are accustomed to call it, on the eastern hill of modern Jerusalem. The correctness of this tradition is confirmed by archaeological research, for the description of Herod's Temple given by ancient writers corresponds with numerous remains still to be seen in and about the Ḥaram area.

Our two main sources of information are the accounts of Josephus in *Ant.*, xv, 11; *Wars*, v, 5, and of the Mishna tractate *Middoth*, chap. ii.¹ Josephus was a priest, who had himself ministered in the sanctuary, so that his knowledge of the Temple rested upon personal observation.² The tractate *Middoth* was composed, though not written, within a century after the destruction of the Temple and embodies the tradition of the priests and Levites. Both of these works, accordingly, are authorities of the first class in regard to the original appearance of the Temple.

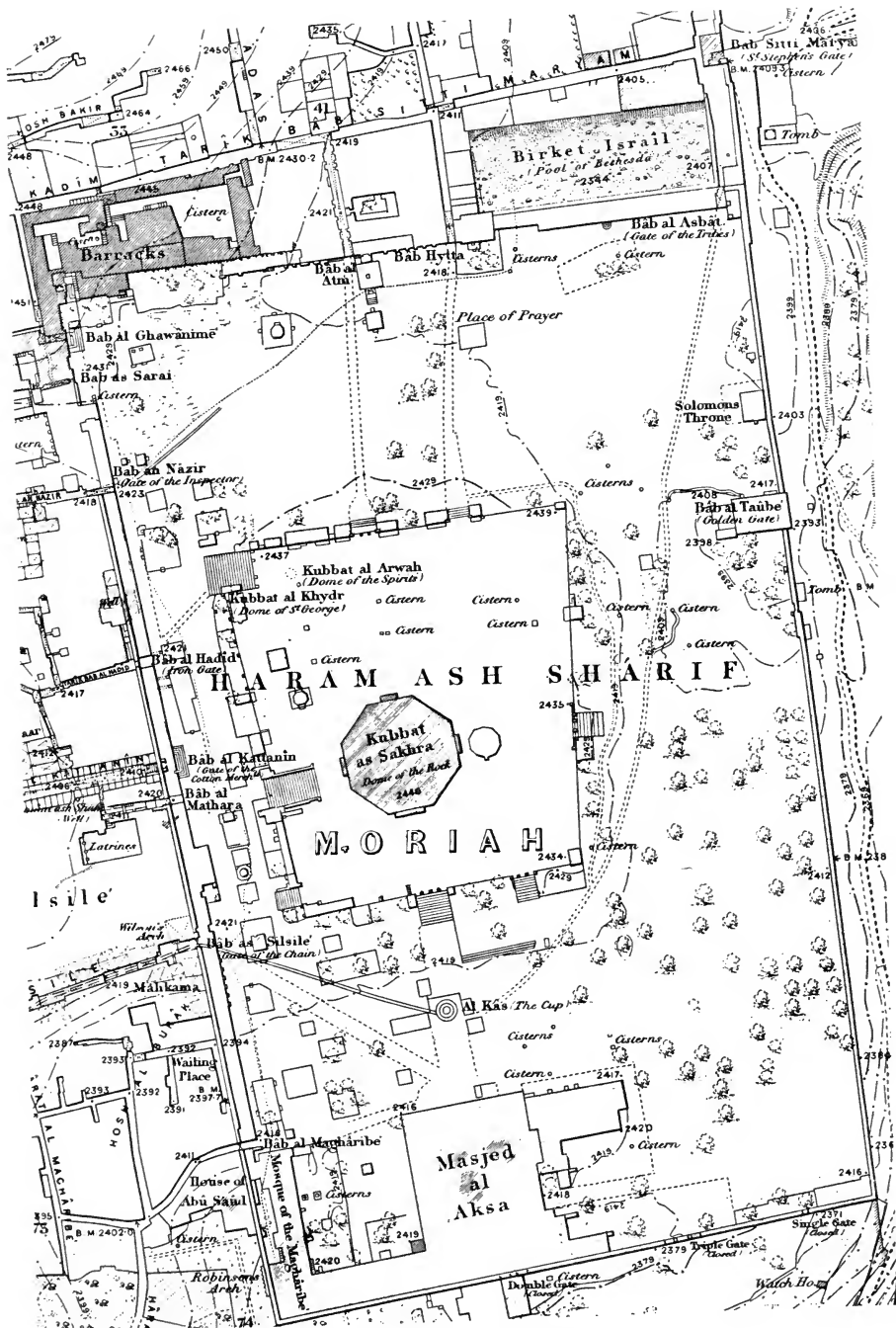
1. *The Platform*.—In regard to the Platform on which the Temple stood Josephus gives an account in *Ant.*, xv, 11:1-5; xx, 9:7; *Wars*, i, 21:1; v, 5:1. From these descriptions the following features are clear: The Temple lay on a narrow, rocky ridge between two deep valleys that ran north and south. On the east the valley was so deep that it made one dizzy to look down into it. The city lay over against the Temple on the west, and curved around in the manner of a theater. The Temple hill was highest at the point where the Sanctuary stood, and sloped rapidly to the south and to the east. The top of the hill was insufficient for a large edifice, and room could be obtained only by building massive substructures. The retaining walls of the Platform rose on three sides—the west,

¹ The Greek text of Josephus is given in the critical edition of Niese, 1887-95; English translations by Whiston, and by Shilleto. The tractate *Middoth* is translated in Barclay's *The Talmud*, in the Appendix of Fergusson's *Temple of the Jews*, and in the *Jerusalem Volume* of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

² On the life of Josephus, see Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. V, p. 461.

south, and east. On the south the wall ran all the way from valley to valley. The walls were joined to native rock at the bottom and rose to such a height that they were level with the top of the hill. This necessitated an elevation of 300 cubits, or 450 feet. They were so lofty that people who fell from them were instantly killed. The stones were white and of enormous size, some of them being 20 cubits in length and 6 cubits in height. The space inside of the wall was filled so as to construct a large, level platform, and on the outside the foundations were covered in order to raise the ground to the level of the streets of the city.

With all the features of this description the modern Ḥaram area exactly corresponds. It lies on the narrow eastern hill of Jerusalem, between the deep valley of the Wādy Sitti Maryam on the east and El-Wād on the west. The western hill, on which the modern city lies, curves about it in a semicircle. Borings in the Ḥaram area disclose that the rocky surface slopes rapidly to the south and to the east, so that the summit of the hill is naturally inadequate for a large edifice. The area is inclosed only on the west, south, and east, and on the north there is level ground connecting with the northeast quarter of the city. The south wall reaches all the way from El-Wād to Wādy Sitti Maryam. The excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund have shown that the foundations of these walls go down to native rock. At the southeast corner of the Ḥaram a shaft had to be sunk to a depth of 80 feet before the bottom of the wall was found, and at the northeast corner there was a depth of 125 feet. In spite of the vast accumulations of rubbish that now hide the lower portion of the wall, it still towers to an imposing height above the valley; and if the rubbish were removed, it would show the 300 cubits that Josephus mentions. Huge stones may still be seen at the Wailing Place of the Jews in the western wall, and throughout the entire length of the southern and eastern walls, and they are made of white limestone such as Josephus describes. In the southeast corner of the Ḥaram area there are immense vaults, known as "Solomon's stables," that raise the top of the Platform to the needed height, and around the southern end of the Platform the ground has been filled in precisely as Josephus states. It appears, accordingly, that in every particular the retaining wall of the Ḥaram



From P. E. F. Ordnance Survey Map.

PLAN OF THE HARAM ESH-SHERIF

area corresponds with the description of the outer wall of the Temple constructed by King Herod.

In regard to the size of the Outer Court that stood upon the Platform, our authorities disagree. Josephus, *Ant.*, xv, 11:3, states that it was a stadium, or 400 cubits—i. e., 600 feet square. *Middoth*, ii, 1, says that it was 500 cubits—i. e., 750 feet square. The actual length of the south wall of the H̄aram is 922 feet. The different figures given by Josephus and *Middoth* show that both depended upon rough estimates rather than upon measurement; consequently, their lack of correspondence with the actual length of the south wall constitutes no objection to identifying it with the south wall of Herod's Platform. It should be noted also that their measurements apply to the court within the inclosing wall and are exclusive of the broad cloisters that encompassed the court on all four sides.

On the north and west Josephus gives the same dimensions for the Platform as on the south—namely, 400 cubits, or 600 feet. The present H̄aram wall measures 1,601 feet on the west and 1,530 on the east. If this disproportion between the length and the breadth had existed in Josephus' day, he could not have spoken of the Temple area as square. This seems to show a serious lack of agreement between the Temple and the modern H̄aram. Explorations show, however, that the original H̄aram area did not extend so far north as the present one. In the south wall of Birket Isra'în, the traditional Pool of Bethesda, which stands at the north end of the present H̄aram inclosure, no ancient stones have been found. This shows that Herod's Platform did not extend so far north. No corner or straight joint exists in the face of the east wall at the present northeast corner of the H̄aram; consequently the original north line cannot have joined the east wall at this point. Just beyond the Golden Gate, however, the character of the masonry changes, and this seems to show that the ancient northeast corner was at this point. The north wall of Herod's Temple apparently coincided with the north line of the present Inner Platform of the H̄aram. In this case, the original Platform was nearly square, each side being about 1,000 feet long. The statements of Josephus and of *Middoth*, accordingly, are not so inappropriate to the H̄aram area as they appear at first sight.

Josephus states that the inclosing wall was entirely the work of

Herod. With this correspond the facts that the foundations are all in one line, and that the great drafted masonry is all of one class from the foundation upward. Only in the south wall west of the Double Gate and in the east wall south of the Prophet's Gate are stones with rustic bosses. These were designed to be covered by filling in the foundations, so that their presence does not indicate a different period of construction. Modern authorities are agreed that the huge drafted stones that form the lower courses of the Haram wall belong to the Herodian period. They must be older than the Moslem era, because they were seen and described by numerous pilgrims before 530 A. D., and because the Arabs were incapable of executing such a gigantic architectural enterprise. They cannot be more ancient than the time of Herod, because they intersect the old city aqueduct on the southwest. They are of the same general type as the stones in the so-called Tower of David, which is generally admitted to have been one of the towers of Herod's palace, and they disclose the same kind of marginal drafting and fine adz dressing that is seen in the remains of the Tyropoean Bridge, which was certainly the work of Herod. The Phoenician letters discovered on the stones near the southeast corner were formerly supposed to prove that this wall was the work of Solomon, but it is now recognized that they may have been written in the Herodian period quite as well as in the Solomonic.

2. *The Citadel of Antonia*.—This is described by Josephus in *Wars*, v, 4:2; v, 5:8, as follows:

Those parts that stood northward of the Temple, being joined to the hill, made it considerably larger, and occasioned that fourth hill, which is called Bezetha, to be inhabited also. It lies over against the Tower of Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley, which was dug on purpose, in order to hinder the foundations of Antonia from joining this hill, and thereby affording an opportunity for getting to it with ease, and lessening its superior elevation, for which reason also that depth of the ditch increased the elevation of the towers. . . . Now, as to the Tower of Antonia, it was situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the Temple, that on the west, and that on the north: it was erected upon a rock fifty cubits in height, and was on a great precipice: it was the work of King Herod. . . . From thence the whole Temple might be viewed: but on the corner, where it joined the two cloisters of the Temple, it had passages down to them both, through which on the Jewish festivals, the guard with arms (for there always lay in this tower a Roman legion) went several ways

among the cloisters, in order to watch the people, that they might not there attempt to make any innovations, for the Temple was a fortress that guarded the city, as was Antonia a guard to the Temple; and in that tower were the guards of those three. There was also a special fortress belonging to the Upper City, which was Herod's palace; but as for the hill Bezetha, it was divided from Antonia, as we have already told you; and as that hill on which the Tower of Antonia stood was the highest of these three, so did it adjoin to the New City, and was the only place that hindered the sight of the Temple on the north.

The Castle of Antonia is also referred to in the following passages: *Ant.*, xiii, 16:5; xv, 11:4; xv, 11:7; xviii, 4:3; xx, 1:1; xx, 5:3;



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SITE OF THE CASTLE OF ANTONIA

Wars, i, 5:4; i, 21:1; ii, 15:5; ii, 15:6; ii, 16:5; v, 7:3; v, 9:2; vi, 1:7; vi, 1:8; vi, 2:5; vi, 4:4.

In *Wars*, v, 5:2, it is stated that the Outer Court of the Temple measured six stadia, including the Tower of Antonia. The court proper, as we have just seen, was only four stadia square; consequently the Tower must have stood one stadium north of the Temple and have been connected with it by a passage guarded on both sides with walls. To this passage Josephus alludes in *Wars*, v, 5:8:

"On the corner where it joined the two cloisters of the Temple, it had passages down to them both." This portico leading from the Temple to the Castle of Antonia is apparently referred to in Acts 21:40 as the place from which Paul made his defense to the people.

These descriptions of Antonia correspond precisely with the present site of the Turkish barracks at the northwest corner of the Haram area. This is about a stadium distant from the north edge of the inner platform which, as we have seen, corresponds with the north line of the court of Herod's Temple. It lies upon a rocky cliff 50 cubits in height; it overlooks the Temple and hinders the view from the north. The researches of the Palestine Exploration Fund have shown that it is separated by a deep artificial ditch from the northeast quarter of the modern city, which corresponds with the Bezetha quarter or New City of Josephus. There is general agreement, therefore, that in the Barrack Rock we see the site of the Castle of Antonia.

3. *The city walls*.—According to *Wars*, v, 4:2, the first, or inner, wall of the city on the north began at the tower called Hippicus, extended as far as the Xystus, and then, joining the Council-House, ended at the west cloister of the Temple. This statement, in connection with the natural features of the ground, shows that the wall must have joined the Temple about midway in its western side. At this point traces are still to be seen of the causeway on which the wall crossed the Tyropoean Valley at the so-called Wilson's Arch, 600 feet from the southwest corner of the Haram. Wilson's Arch is itself a late construction, but beneath it are remains of older arches of the Herodian period.

In *Wars*, v, 4:2, Josephus states that the south wall of the city joined the temple at the east cloister. The excavations of Warren have disclosed a massive wall running in a southwesterly direction from the southeast corner of the Haram. This wall joins the Haram with a straight joint, which shows that the two were not built at the same time. This corresponds with the fact that the south wall was older than the constructions of Herod. This wall is $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick and 75 feet in height. It is buried under rubbish that rises four feet above its top.

4. *The Gates.*—In regard to the gates that gave access to the Temple, Josephus says:

Now in the western quarters of the inclosure there were four gates; the first led to the King's Palace by a viaduct over the intermediate valley; two more led to the suburbs of the city; and the last led to the other city, descending into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent. (*Ant.*, xv, 11:5.)

The first of the gates thus described led to a bridge across the



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ROBINSON'S ARCH

Tyropoean Valley to the Upper City. This was built originally by the Hasmonean kings. According to *Ant.*, xiv, 4:2; *Wars*, i, 7:2, Aristobulus broke it down in order to prevent Pompey's attacking the Temple. It was subsequently rebuilt by Herod (cf. *Wars*, vi, 8:1; 6:2). Remains of it are still to be seen in Robinson's Arch, which protrudes from the eastern wall of the Haram at a distance of 38 feet and 9 inches from the southwest corner. A pier of this bridge and fallen stones were discovered in the excavations of Warren, so

that there is no doubt in regard to the character of the structure. The arch is 50 feet in breadth and has a span of 50 feet. The breadth plus its distance from the southwest corner corresponds closely with the breadth of the Royal Cloister at the south end of the Temple. It appears, accordingly, that this bridge was designed as an approach to the Cloister. The excavations of Warren disclosed a pavement beneath this bridge, and below this pavement was found a *voussoir* of an older bridge. This must have been the one that was destroyed by the Jews in anticipation of Pompey's attack in 63 B. C. When the bridge was rebuilt by Herod in 19 B. C., a pavement was laid over the remains of the older structure, and upon this the new edifice was erected. As previously remarked, the masonry is identical with the inclosing wall of the Haram.

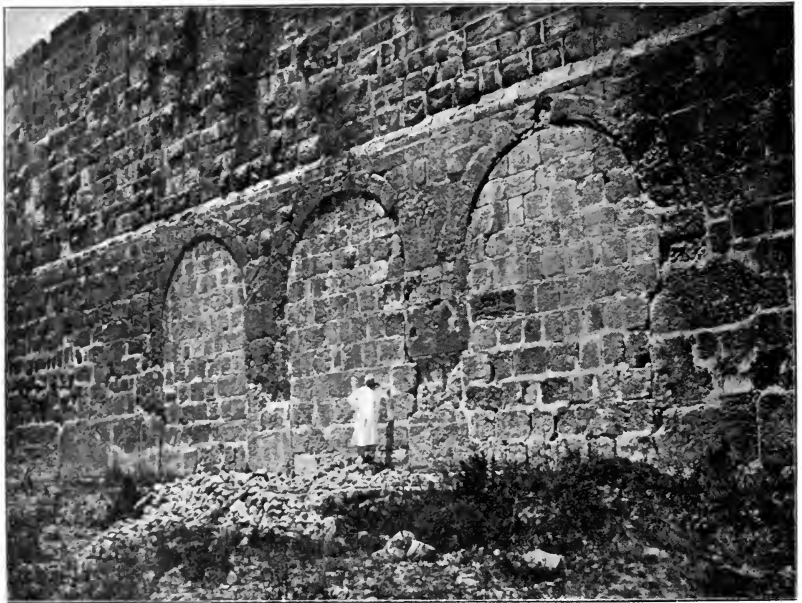
The second western gate, according to Josephus, led by a stairway to the bottom of the valley. This gate must have been near the southwest corner on account of the necessity of a staircase to descend to the bottom of the valley. Below the modern Bab el-Maghâribe remains of an older gate, known as Barclay's Gate, have been discovered. This is 270 feet from the southwest corner, and is apparently the second of the western gates named by Josephus. Within this gate there must be steps leading up to the top of the Platform, but these have been walled up by the Moslems and are inaccessible.

The two other gates on the west that Josephus mentions as leading to the commercial suburb must have lain north of the old first city wall that joined the Temple in the middle of its western side. These are found in the Gate of the Chain and the Gate of the Bath, below which are the remains of ancient entrances. *Middoth*, i, 3, names only one gate, Kipinus, on the west. Which of the four mentioned by Josephus is intended is uncertain.

In regard to the gates on the south Josephus states merely the fact that there were such gates. *Middoth*, i, 3, states that there were two of them, and calls them the two gates of Huldah. These correspond with the Double and the Triple Gates which are still to be seen in the southern wall of the Haram area. The Double Gate lies 350 feet from the southwest angle; the Triple Gate lies 600 feet from that angle. Both of these are now walled up with late Arab masonry, but the original outline of the arches is still traceable.

From the Double Gate a double tunnel, accessible from the Mosque of Aḳṣa, leads up to the top of the Platform. The vaulting in these tunnels belongs to the time of Justinian, but the lower masonry probably goes back to the time of Herod. These passage-ways give us an excellent idea of how the people came up from the lower levels, through the foundations of the Platform, to the Temple Court on the summit.

One eastern gate, called the Gate of Shushan, is mentioned in



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THE TRIPLE GATE

Middoth, i, 3. It corresponds with the modern Golden Gate, which is the only gate in the eastern wall of the Ḥaram. This gate was rebuilt by Justinian, and no Herodian masonry is at present visible; but it probably stands upon the site of the ancient entrance. This gate also has been built up by the Moslems, so that it is now inaccessible.

5. *The Balustrade*.—The Inner Court of the Temple was separated from the Outer Court by a balustrade, in regard to which Josephus speaks as follows:

Thus was the first inclosure, in the midst of which, and not far from it, was the second, reached by a few steps; this was encompassed by a stone wall for a partition, with an inscription which forbade any foreigner to go in under pain of death. (*Ant.* xv, 11:5.)

When one went through this [first court], into the second [court of the] Temple, there was a partition made of stone all round, whose height was three cubits; its construction was very elegant; upon it stood pillars at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek, and some in Roman letters, that no foreigner should go within that sanctuary. (*Wars*, v, 5:2.)

Titus . . . reproached John and his party and said to them: "Have not you, vile wretches, put up this partition-wall before your sanctuary? Have not you put up the pillars thereto belonging, at due distances, and on them engraved in Greek, and in our own letters, this prohibition, That no foreigner should go beyond that wall? Have we not given you leave to kill one who goes beyond it, though he be a Roman?" (*Wars*, vi, 2:4.)

This inclosure is also alluded to in Acts 2:28 ff., where the Jews seek to kill Paul because they suppose that he has brought Trophimus the Ephesian into the inner area. *Middoth*, ii, 3, speaks of this Balustrade as follows:

Inside [of the Mountain of the House] was a reticulated wall ten hand-breadths high, and in it were thirteen breeches broken down by the Greek Kings. The (Jews) restored and fenced them and decreed before them thirteen acts of obeisance.

In 1871 Clermont-Ganneau discovered one of the Greek inscriptions of which Josephus speaks, warning gentiles from passing within the barrier. This reads as follows:

No stranger is to enter within the balustrade and embankment round the sacred place. Whoever is caught will be answerable for his death which will ensue.

The correspondence of the language of this inscription with the statement of Josephus is a striking confirmation of the accuracy of the Jewish historian's observation.

6. *The Inner Court*.—Within the Balustrade was the Inner Court, or Sanctuary, into which only Israelites might enter. Josephus (*Wars*, v, 5:2) describes it as follows:

That second court of the Temple was called the Sanctuary, and was ascended to by fourteen steps from the first court. This court was four-square, and had a wall about it peculiar to itself. . . . Beyond these fourteen steps there was the distance of ten cubits to the wall: this was all level; hence there were other stairs, each of five steps apiece, that led to the gates.

Middoth, ii, 3, speaks of it thus:

Inside of it was the Chel ten cubits broad and twelve steps were there. The height of each step was one-half cubit and the breadth one-half cubit. All the steps were in height one-half cubit and in breadth one-half cubit, except those of the porch.

In regard to the location of the Inner Court with reference to the Outer Court, *Middoth*, ii, 1, states that "the larger space was on the south, the second on the east, the third on the north, and the least westward." This shows that the Inner Court must have lain in the same position as the southern end of the present Inner Platform of the Ḥaram. This Inner Platform rises to a height of several feet above the general level of the Ḥaram area, and its shape is so peculiar in its departure from rectangularity that it is more likely to be a survival of an ancient construction than a creation of the Arab builders. According to *Middoth*, the Court of the Women was 135 cubits long, and the Court of the Priests 187 cubits long, making together the sum of 322 cubits. Between the Court of the Women and the Court of the Priests lay the Court of Israel. The length of this, unfortunately, is not given. (The statement in regard to the "place of the treading of the feet of Israel" does not apply to this court.) The present Inner Platform is about 468 cubits in the line from east to west through the middle. Subtracting 322 cubits, this would leave 138 cubits for the length of the Court of Israel. This corresponds so closely with the size of the Court of the Women that it is probably a correct estimate, and the whole size of the Inner Court will then correspond so closely with the Inner Platform of the Ḥaram that we can hardly doubt that the two are identical.

7. *The Altar*.—Josephus and *Middoth* both place the Temple at the west end of the Inner Court, with the Court of the Priests and the Court of Israel and the Court of the Women to the eastward (cf. *Wars*, ii, 17:3). The Temple, accordingly, must have stood close to the western edge of the present Inner Platform of the Ḥaram. In front of the Temple in the Court of the Priests stood the Altar of Burnt Offering (cf. *Ant.*, xv, 11:5). In *Wars*, v, 5:6, the Altar is thus described:

Before this temple stood the Altar, fifteen cubits high, and equal both in length and breadth; each of which dimensions was fifty cubits. The figure it

was built in was a square, and it had corners like horns; and the ascent to it from the south sloped backward gently. It was formed without any iron tool, nor did any such iron tool so much as touch it at any time.

The description of the Altar in *Middoth*, iii, 13, is as follows:

The Altar was thirty-two cubits square. . . . And in the southwestern corner were two holes as two thin nostrils that the blood poured upon the western and southern foundations should run into them; and it commingled in a canal and flowed out into the Kidron. . . . Below in the pavement in the same



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THE INNER PLATFORM OF THE HARAM

corner there was a place a cubit square with a marble tablet and a ring fastened in it. Through it they descended to the sewer and cleansed it.

The Temple was 100 cubits long (cf. *Ant.*, xv, 11:3; *Middoth*, iv, 6); and since the Altar of Burnt Offering stood in front of it to the east, it must correspond with the Saħra, or sacred rock, that lies under the center of the dome of the Noble Sanctuary. Sacred spots are cherished in the Orient with remarkable persistency. The Altar must have been the first structure reared on the top of the

hill, and the memory of its location has lasted down to our own day and is the explanation of the sanctity of the Saḥra. This rock is the original summit of the hill, which appears here only in the entire Ḥaram area. The highest point would be the one naturally selected at the outset for the placing of the Altar. Moreover, the description of the channels and receptacles for blood under the Altar corresponds with the caves and tunnels under the modern Saḥra. This view is more probable than that of Moslem tradition, followed by Conder and some other authorities, which identifies the Saḥra with the site of the Holy of Holies.

8. *The Cisterns and Drains.*—Josephus and *Middoth* speak of a large number of cisterns and channels for water that existed beneath the Temple area. These correspond with the cisterns and channels that exist beneath the modern Ḥaram area, but a precise identification of the particular names is at present impossible.

9. Jerome in his commentary on Isa. 2:8, and on Matt. 24:15, states that Hadrian set up a statue of Jupiter on the site of the Temple. This statue was seen by the Bordeaux Pilgrim in 333 A. D. The inscription that stood originally on the base of this statue is still to be seen on a large stone built upside down into the wall near the Double Gate.

On the basis of these facts it is indisputable that the Ḥaram area corresponds with the site of the Temple of Solomon, of Zerubbabel, and of Herod. On this point there is agreement among all writers, Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan, Protestant and Catholic, critical and uncritical. It is the only point in the topography of ancient Jerusalem in regard to which there is universal agreement. This, accordingly, we must make our point of departure in our investigation of the city.

SOCIAL DUTIES

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CHAPTER I. GENERAL SURVEY

I. INTRODUCTION

I. THE PRESENT SITUATION.—Many teachers of young men and young women have discovered that religious and moral instruction must be made concrete and practical at the approach of majority. About the sixteenth year the young person becomes conscious of new powers and needs, and often thinks seriously of the responsibilities of husband, wife, citizen, manager of business, parent. The generative, creative impulses irradiate and profoundly influence the entire life. The supreme choices of life must be made at a time when experience and knowledge are still limited. That must be a dull youth who does not in some measure consider what is involved in the selection of a calling, a wife, a political party, a religious creed, associations for business and pleasure, a system of conduct. We notice at this epoch an irritable restlessness, an impatience with introspection, with commonplace homilies, with teaching about ancient ways; for the young man recognizes nothing akin to his problems in much that goes under the name of religious instruction. This impatience is part explanation of the general exodus from Sunday school at the turn into maturity; not the sole cause, for passion, recklessness, frivolity, untamed animalism, eagerness to be amused, press the more superficial into questionable paths. But many even of the giddy might become interested in a kind of teaching which avoids repetition of traditions and monotonous adherence to consecrated dulness, and which at every lesson suggests a work to be done, organizes useful efforts, and presents the information which is necessary to make effort really useful. It has been discovered that youth who find it simply impossible to follow the fortunes of Saul, Samuel, and Peter for the fiftieth round, will attend regularly where a practical leader compels every member to confront at every lesson some immediate

task within his power. A person old enough to choose for himself and serious enough to do any real thinking demands science and law, contemporary fact, rather than insipid anecdote and threadbare exhortation. And this demand of youth is unconsciously near to a principle of Christ himself: If any man is willing to do, he shall know. The gate into faith is not dreaming and meditating and analyzing virtues alone, but right and wise action—action which instantly follows the clear call of duty. It is a pity that a good lad should come to associate Bible instruction with ideas remote from the issues of his own life, when he hears some shrewd politician, or saloon orator, or bright labor leader discuss with fervor and intelligence matters with which he must soon deal. At the moment when the lad acquires liberty, and when constraint has become impossible, he needs more than at any other crisis a mature leader who represents not only amiable sentiments, but reliable knowledge of this world and of modes of activity which offer wholesome channels for the superabundant energy of opening manhood. Not less desirable is the training in reflection and self-restraint which comes from comparing opinions with others. Youth is rash and opinionated, more ready to act than to think, sure of itself, and that because of ignorance of the amazing complexity of social life and its problems.

It is with a view to meeting this situation and helping in the solution of problems thus presented that the series of articles on "Social Duties," of which this is the first, has been prepared. In this introductory article the immediate aim is to give a general survey of the entire field of conduct, and to suggest the breadth of this territory rather than to take up any specific problem for treatment. The articles which follow are intended to furnish some hints for Sunday lessons for groups of young men who cannot be held together by the conventional methods of teaching the Bible. They will demand serious study and considerable knowledge on the part of the leader. Yet an earnest man with modest equipment of books can accomplish good results, if he will set the entire group at work investigating the questions, reading the books cited, and discussing situations in the neighborhood which are of moral interest and demand moral choices. Local professional men, as physicians, teachers, lawyers, bankers, legislators, labor leaders, may be invited to supplement the other

sources of information. Discussion should be encouraged, because the mental effort to shape a question, to state a fact, to urge an argument, has a high educational value.¹

The Bible stimulates to right conduct, but does not make study of our own situation unnecessary. Each generation must work out for itself the regulations of its life which correspond to its own conditions of justice and well-being.

These articles will not attempt by hortatory methods to induce the inner and personal dispositions of the Christian character. What is sought is to aid the personal influence of holy teachers by directing motives to suitable expression. The world itself is a witness to God and a field for the training of Christian character. In the pursuit of the right way to do good we find ourselves in near companionship with our Lord. And many a skeptical man has found his way unconsciously back to certainty of faith by becoming interested in some unselfish and Christlike work such as Jesus himself would be doing in the same circumstances. A true Bible class should be something more than a debating club with a merely theoretical and speculative end; it should become responsible for one or more forms of practical service—personal service for the neighborhood and gifts of money for fields too distant for direct labors of members of the class.²

¹ Professor J. M. Coulter, who has had remarkable success with just such a class as is here contemplated, writes of his experience with discussions: "I have found that in my class, made up of representatives from almost every form of activity, the calling for personal experiences in reference to any problem results not only in interest, but in a contribution of most heterogeneous and contradictory material. This not only provokes discussion, but illustrates the vast difficulty of such subjects, and the necessity of taking many things into consideration before such experiences can be harmonized. This has taught the men the folly of snap-shot judgments, and has made them appreciate that a subject must be investigated with an open mind before any conclusion is worthy of consideration."

² A few citations from the writings of men of devout life and spiritual insight into the nature of Christianity may here be suggestive:

"All religion has relation to life, and the life of religion is to do good."—Swedenborg.

"The Christian religion consists in performing worthily the duties we owe to God, our neighbor, and ourselves. Christian religion is plain and easy to understand by all such as are desirous to understand it. The order to be observed in keeping God's commandments: Moral duties, where both cannot, must be observed before positive injunctions; 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice,' saith our Savior. Works of charity before works of piety. Religion of the end—namely, those acts of religion, those virtues, which have an intrinsic goodness in them—before religion of the means, namely,

The Bible is the supreme spiritual ferment and moral influence in the life of mankind, but it is not, and cannot be made, a code of legislation. It teaches, reproves, corrects, instructs in the quality of righteousness by precept, biography, poetry, and most of all by the story of Jesus; but it does not furnish a substitute for hard study of present duties. Some of the problems on which students of social progress are busy toiling relate to aims, others to institutions through which social ideals are realized, and some to methods of individual action and social co-operation.

2. THE ELEMENTS OF THE SITUATION. a) *Conditions of welfare.*—

There are certain social conditions which must be provided by community action and sustained by sentiment, government, and united labor in order that personal character and general welfare may be fostered. These are: liberty for personal initiative, security and order, and opportunity of every member of society to act in the full range of his powers. In the mind of the revolutionist, chafing at hoary tradition and angry with legal wrong, liberty promises all. To the conservative, comfortable in possession of a competence and identified with parties in power, the word "order" has the more attractive sound. To the ambitious proletarian, handicapped by poverty and ignorance, equality seems the goal of endeavor. In a wide view all these conditions of welfare are recognized as legitimate, and all must be harmonized.

b) *Aims of social effort.*—Man is an animal, with all the wants and needs of the animal. He must have food, shelter, recreation, air, light, and all else that gives strength, vigor, ability to act and endure. Since the material world supplies standing-room and the materials and forces through which artist, statesman, theologian, missionary, and philanthropist make ideals reality, men must harness and utilize nature, by labor and contrivance, by production of goods, and by regulation of division of the product. The physician, the economist,

those instrumental duties which are only means of attaining the other."—Bishop Wilson, *Maxims of Piety and Christianity*.

"It is not his [Jesus'] words at all as such, but the morally necessary, that must be obeyed, and his words only in case they mirror the morally necessary for us and in our situation. . . . We are not confronted with the end of the world but with an infinitude of tasks which the God of nature and of history has set us."—G. B. Foster, *The Finality of the Christian Religion*, pp. 464, 465.

the manufacturer, the merchant, may be inclined to set wealth in too high and exclusive a position; may identify sanitation and commerce with social progress; may scorn ethical and aesthetic elements in the social aim; but no one, not even the most spiritual saint, can deny the necessity for a material basis of life.

But the *ultimate values* of existence are those of thought made systematic and complete in science; of beauty realized in the artistic works of poets, painters, singers, actors, architects, sculptors, orators, and gracious homemakers with their fine feminine touch upon all objects of daily use. In the kindly fellowship of daily intercourse, in the widening sympathies which sweeten contacts, in the stern and austere assertion of righteousness and honesty, and highest of all in the reverence and love of man to God, do we come upon the ultimate and self-justifying goods of existence. In the degree in which all these factors of well-being are diffused among men is there social progress. To genius we owe most new beginnings and positive additions to knowledge and beauty and goodness, but only as the race moves forward to universal possession and enjoyment of all kinds of good can we claim advance in the truest sense. In a clear view of these natural and spiritual values do we discover our definition and our measure of social progress.

c) *Institutions and organizations*.—But these aims are realized only by personal activity in connection with institutions created to facilitate the common enjoyment of the achievements of the best members of the community and the race. Ascending from the most simple to the most extended of social groups, we discover that humanity has produced in the long past of its evolution the family, the rural community, the town and city, the commonwealth, the nation, and is now building up, under the name of international law, a system of regulations for the conduct of nations in relations with each other. Within these larger communities, and crossing their lines of division, men have produced voluntary associations for all kinds of purposes, as economic partnerships and companies, educational societies, churches, and extended federations of these, some of them wider than any kingdom or republic. And if we look into any considerable group of persons bound together in a large community, we discover classes or strata of like persons whose attitude to others becomes

important in relation to progress in wealth, health, and culture; as the criminals, the dependents, the industrials, the leisure class, and perhaps others.

One fruitful method of classifying the various forms of social effort which are now occupying the attention and absorbing the energy of students and practical workers is to isolate for the time each group or class in turn, and discover the points at which both thought and labor are being most intensively applied. Only a few illustrations can find room here, and even these might be expanded into an encyclopaedia.

II. PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

I. THE FAMILY.—We begin where life begins, with the *family*. Of recent years the sex and domestic groups have enlisted a vast amount of serious and valuable scientific study on the part of anthropologists, ethnologists, psychologists, physicians, historians, lawyers, and sociologists. Only in the history of origin and development do we come to a full understanding of the foundations of morality in the most vital relation of persons in society. At this moment the whole power of the government of the United States is, for the second time, directed upon a scientific investigation of the extent and causes of divorce, and of the legal methods of regulating this evil, and the evils which lead to divorce. How helpless the isolated individual is can be made sensible by this undertaking on behalf of the home. Every aspect of marriage and domestic life has significance for religion, righteousness, character, as well as for material well-being. The regulation of courtship, the publicity of announcements, the registration of marriage, and education in the physical and spiritual preparation of youth for marriage, are vital questions, perhaps far more important than divorce itself. On all these problems exegetical science helps a certain way; but common-sense shows that the modern world faces problems which could not even occur to Jesus himself. The scientific and practical problems relating to the protection and improvement of domestic life are of supreme moment: the betterment of the tenement house in cities and rural hygiene for the country; public baths, parks, playgrounds, outings, home libraries, child labor, woman labor, and every effort to improve income, encourage thrift, provide insurance when the bread-winner fails—all these merely

suggest the wide field in which the entire power of the nation is required to save and help the most modest household. The National League for the Protection of the Family and the National Child Labor Committee are illustrations of this multiform activity. Settlements, vacation schools, juvenile courts, "institutional churches" among the poor, associations to protect children from cruelty and neglect, the federation called the National Children's Home Society, and a myriad local societies, are witness to the awakened conscience in relation to family and child-life.

2. THE RURAL COMMUNITY.—The beginning of scientific study of the cultural interests of the rural community is only of recent date. Already a splendid literature has grown up concerned with the science and arts of horticulture, agriculture, chemistry of soils, botany and entomology in application to rural industry, the economics of agriculture, markets, wages, leases, and all such matters; but now we are thinking much more of the breeding and education of the people as modified by the conditions of rural existence. The activity of women in rural granges and institutes is earnest of a larger attention given to the aesthetic and sociable aspects of the new studies. The tasks and difficulties and prospects of rural churches are just now attracting attention, all the more because many city people have begun to spend much of their time in the country. The necessity for co-operation between churches to prevent economic starvation, and consequent spiritual bleeding to death, has hastened the decay of sectarianism and promoted the dissolution of mere doctrine as a basis of ecclesiastical tests and organization. In the selection and education of rural populations state and nation must combine with individuals and voluntary associations. He who advocates mere "individualism" as a remedy for all ills and a solution of problems ignores an essential condition of progress.

3. THE CITY.—The problems of *urban* life have received earlier and more general scientific and practical treatment; for in cities the congestion and friction of population have made investigation and action urgent. A few years ago the chief attention was given to the machinery of city government, and men talked and wrote much of civil-service reform, primary elections, double and single chambers, powers of mayors, charters, and the like. These subjects are still

interesting and for a long time to come must be studied, and labor must be consecrated to improve the forms and methods of administration. But greater emphasis is laid at present upon what the people wish to do with all this administrative machinery. How far can local governments go in protection against local monopoly without hindering initiative and retarding experiment? How far are municipal trading and manufacture advisable? What can the urban community do to provide for the crowded multitudes of operatives fit dwellings, clean streets, open spaces, playgrounds, schools, baths, libraries, museums, lectures, and all the incentives to a life of culture?

4. THE STATE.—The *Commonwealth* is coming to receive more study and to assume wider functions. Most of the revenues of each state go to education, charity, and repression of crime. The state has not had hitherto a very large field for direct administration of positive measures of social advancement; and even in the future there will be more or less rivalry with the federal government in this matter. As soon as a business or an interest grows large enough for state action, it outgrows state limits and becomes interstate activity, as railroads and insurance. Nevertheless, the doctrine of state rights means state duties, and in workingmen's protection and insurance we see in the immediate future the probability of considerable social enterprise for the state. The co-ordination and improvement of schools depend on extension of state activity, while many local abuses in matters of charity and police must be corrected by that expert supervision and control which only a commonwealth can supply.

5. THE NATION.—It seems ridiculous even to mention so vast a subject as *national* social administration in the brief space now at command; yet for the sake of the suggestion we may mention the national demand for pure-food laws, meat inspection, and regulation of the costs of transportation. Postal savings banks have often been asked for, but the movement has thus far been defeated in this country, apparently by interested commercial cliques. The national Congress and the scientific departments for investigation and publication are among our chief agents of social progress.

6. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.—International movements which are worthy of special mention in this connection are those which aim

to mitigate the cruelties of battle, to diminish the occasions of war, to determine disputes by judicial process without resort to arms, and the policing of uncivilized parts of the world without exploitation of simple peoples who have not the arms and organization of the favored nations. In this connection should be considered the enterprises of foreign missions, of the circulation of the best literature of Christian culture in Asia and Africa, and of the establishment of Christian schools in all parts of the earth.

7. DEPENDENTS AND DELINQUENTS.—Some of the social problems which await the instructions of time and study relate to the anti-social or criminal group of the population. Methods of prison discipline and prison labor and the "indeterminate sentence" occupy the minds of administrators; but such preventive and educational measures as can be applied by the philanthropic public and which diminish the need for costly penitentiaries command more sympathy than formerly. This is true also of dealing with dependence in its various aspects. Relief will continue to require the best thought and large sacrifices of the people; but economic, sanitary, and educational improvements will in great measure diminish the resort to charity.

8. THE LEISURE CLASS.—We have not yet much discussed the fate and fortunes of the recently developed "leisure class" which has sprung up in the path of a generation of successful men who never knew what leisure meant; while some of their children seem unable to find out its use and opportunity. This is too large a subject for a paragraph of hints.

9. THE INDUSTRIAL GROUP.—The *industrial group* has a vitality of its own, and through the trade-union has forced itself upon public notice. The growth of cities is the growth of this group in numbers and political power; and wage-workers are conscious of this power and determined to use it. From the standpoint of the student of economic politics the demand is for means of thrift and insurance, protection of workingmen against the dangers of accident and disease in employments, prevention of the exploitation of children through premature labor without the advantages of play and school, and the proper regulation of the industries in which women are engaged. Later will come questions of the effect of this new political power among us on art, science, culture, productive processes, morality, and religion.

Every word in each paragraph of this article suggests reading and effort for many earnest years. Life must be worth living so long as there is so much danger and evil in the world, and splendid opportunity for the men and women who know and love and have faith in God. In subsequent articles suggestions will be made for serious study of some of these problems by Bible classes of youth and mature persons.

The common problem, yours, mine, everyone's,
Is—not to fancy what were fair in life
Provided it could be,—but, finding first
What may be, then find how to make it fair
Up to our means. . . .
Make Paradise of London if you can.

—R. Browning, "Bishop Bloughram's Apology."

SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS

The following suggestions are intended for the use of teachers who use this article as an introductory lesson with a class which is gathered with the purpose to pursue the general subject during the year at stated times.

1. The selected leader or teacher should ask each member of the class to give him at once written statements of social problems, or moral difficulties arising in his occupation and other experiences; of temptations which must be overcome; of subjects on which good men are of divided opinion in situations where action of some kind is urgent and necessary.

2. For several meetings close attention should be given to social aims. Aimless study and teaching is like the blind leading the blind. The captain of a ship directs the prow of his vessel toward the port he would reach. What do men desire? What is of most worth and value? What is proper to seek as means, and what is supremely valuable as end of life itself? Some hints are given in this article, but each person should strive to set before himself his own goals and criticize them, test them, and try to fix his purpose and effort on objects according to some scale of reasonable value. Riches are good, but are they good enough to buy at the price of honesty, purity, health, and religion? Learning is good, and a college education is desirable; but would we praise a young man who left his aged mother to starve while he went to the university? Turn these questions over in all thinkable ways, and start similar problems.

3. Discuss the use to the community of various familiar institutions, offices, and private enterprises; as, for example, the courts of the county, the jail, the school, the township trustee, various laws, an insurance company, a bank, a collection of books and pictures, a church.

While the leader must not permit the discussion to degenerate into idle gossip and speculation about things not practical, he should not discourage honest and

sincere, even if awkward, attempts to enter into the study. If a rather irrelevant subject seems to be dragged in by the ears, and there is no time to consider it, let it be set down for future notice. If some cranky person insists upon monopolizing time by long-winded speeches, the leader may announce a five-minute rule which must not be trespassed without vote of the class. Even cranky people with hobbies to ride sometimes serve a useful purpose in stirring up thought. The leader must not be dogmatic, or he ceases to be a teacher. The object is not to settle complex questions, but to educate, instruct, inspire, and find right ways of doing useful actions. It is not well to bring questions to a vote of the class, for this makes every speaker more a debater for personal victory than a seeker after truth and duty. If all sides have been heard, no harm is done if the members of the class part to think over the whole discussion each for himself. These articles are to be used as fraternal helps, not with slavish imitation. When a topic is of living interest to the class, then is the time to discuss it. Local events, tragedies of ignorance and sin, may furnish the best starting-points for a new lesson.

REFERENCES FOR TEACHERS AND MEMBERS OF THE CLASS

The following books are recommended in the *A. L. A. Catalog*, a list of books published for the American Library Association by the Library of Congress, in 1904. That catalogue may be found generally in libraries. Only a few titles of popular works can here be mentioned.

J. S. Mackenzie, *Manual of Ethics*.

Charles Wagner, *Youth and Courage*.

Small and Vincent, *Introduction to the Study of Society*.

C. D. Wright, *Outline of Practical Sociology*.

W. D. P. Bliss, *Encyclopaedia of Social Reform* (new edition to appear in 1907).

F. H. Giddings, *Elements of Sociology*.

The same catalogue recommends C. R. Henderson, *Social Spirit in America* and *Social Elements*.

All the above are of a general character; in the succeeding articles books will be mentioned for each special subject.

THE MEN WHO MADE ISRAEL¹

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INTRODUCTORY

1. "Israel" is the name given to a people that dwelt in the southern part of the highlands forming the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. Few nations have been smaller in numbers or have occupied narrower territories, yet none has more deeply influenced the life of mankind. This influence has been due to the work of great men who in the crises of the national life appeared as leaders and teachers of their people. They pointed out the path for the people to tread, and led the way; as statesmen they gave the nation its laws and directed its policy; as teachers they held up lofty ideals of morals and religion, and warned against error and evil. All that was best in Israel's life is reflected in their words and deeds. Hence, as is true of no other ancient people, Israel's history is the history of its heroes. In studying their lives we study in the most vital way the history of Israel.

2. If Israel had run its course among the other nations of the ancient world and like them passed away, the lives of its heroes and their achievements would still make its history worthy of study. They did not, indeed, win fame as mighty conquerors whose victorious armies marched far and wide, changing the face of the oriental world. Their exploits were confined within the borders of their own nation, and their names were hardly known beyond its horizon. It was the spirit that fired them which gives them distinction—a spirit of devotion to the right, of loyalty to Jehovah, the righteous God, of zeal to make Jehovah's righteous will prevail in the nation. They were teachers and witnesses of a religious ideal which they sought

¹ The series of articles of which this is the first form the first part of a book on the heroes of Israel which the late Professor George S. Goodspeed left incomplete at the time of his death. The studies were prepared with a view to the needs of students in secondary schools and Sunday-school classes of similar grade. As being models of their kind, such of them as stood complete at the time of Professor Goodspeed's death, are now to be published.

to bring to bear on every side of Israel's life. Whether as lawgivers or warriors, kings or priests or prophets, they were inspired by a vision of God which both lifted them above the level of their time and nerved them to the task of bringing their countrymen up to the higher plane on which they stood. In doing this work they did more. They gave expression to ideas that have deeply moved the world ever since. They founded a religion which still is living and powerful. Their lives and teachings have been gathered up into a book of religion, the Old Testament. This religion has been taken up into Christianity, the world's great religion; this book united with the New Testament forms the Bible of Christianity. Surely, if the course of empire from Alexander to Caesar and Napoleon, world-conquerors, is worthy of study; if what scholars have discovered concerning the structure of the earth, or the constitution of man's body should be known by all educated persons—much more should we seek to know what men of old have done to make truth and right prevail on earth, what the great teachers have taught about the true grandeur of nations and the chief duty of man. This was the work of the heroes of Israel, and this makes the history of Israel of unceasing interest and value in our education.

3. Although Israel was a small state with petty interests, it formed part of a larger world of wide area and abounding life. This world of the Ancient East extended from the valleys of the great rivers Euphrates and Tigris to the valley of the Nile. The whole region was bound together in a physical unity. The Euphrates in its upper course connects the plain through which it flows with a series of fertile valleys and plateaus on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, and this district in turn leads down to the valley of the Nile. Lofty mountain ranges on the east and north, the Mediterranean on the west, and the desert on the south and southwest, form its boundaries. The whole has the general character of a crescent. At its eastern point, at the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris, lies Babylonia. The upper plain of these rivers is called Mesopotamia. The plateaus and valleys on the Mediterranean coast have the general name of Syria, the southern half of which is given the special name of Palestine. At the western extremity in the Nile valley lay Egypt. Through this crescent-shaped region from Babylonia to Egypt the

tides of human history flowed back and forth, and their course is recorded in the earliest chapter of the organized life of man upon the earth—the history of the ancient eastern world.

4. When that history began we shall probably never know; but by 5000 B. C., perhaps two thousand years before, men were already settled in Babylonia, living in cities with organized governments, well advanced in the arts of social life. By 4000 B. C. the same state of things may be observed in Egypt. At these dates peoples whose relationship is demonstrated by the language they spoke were at the head of affairs throughout the whole region. They are called Shemites or Semites, from the fact that Israel regarded them as all descended from one ancestor, Shem, the son of Noah. Their home was in the Arabian desert. From there in mighty waves of migration they rolled over the boundaries of the valleys east and west, and took possession of the fertile regions of this eastern world where they carried forward the primitive civilization and organization they found there to splendid achievement.

5. The fertile soil of Babylonia and Egypt, capable of producing abundant crops, gave their peoples an early start in the race for leadership. By 2500 B. C. all the Babylonian plain had been united under one king, ruling from the city of Babylon. His authority extended even to the Mediterranean Sea, where Babylonian traders had already brought the arts and civilization of their land. The Babylonian Empire extended from the Persian Gulf to the borders of Egypt. Meanwhile Egypt had not been idle and had been organized into one kingdom, with its capital first at Memphis, and later at Thebes. Under its rulers, called Pharaohs, a splendid civilization had been built up, which has its eternal monument in the pyramids, and reached its height about 2000 B. C. under the Pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty.

A few centuries after another wave of Semitic migration threw the whole eastern world into confusion (1700–1600 B. C.), out of which Egypt first emerged and became the leading power, its empire extending from the Nile to the upper Euphrates (1600–1300 B. C.). Its ascendancy was then broken, and after the passing of some centuries a new power, that of Assyria, on the upper Tigris, came forward and by the might of its armies conquered the entire eastern world and ruled it for three centuries (900–600 B. C.). Then it gave way to

Babylonia, which for a brief season enjoyed supremacy (600-538 B. C.), to be succeeded by a new and strange power, Persia, whose people, coming from the mountains beyond the eastern border of the Euphrates valley, conquered the Semitic nations and built up the greatest empire of the eastern world (538-325 B. C.). This empire in its turn was overcome by a people from the west, the Greeks, led by Alexander the Great, in whose mightier empire the world of the East and the world of the West were united in government and culture. Alexander's empire soon fell to pieces, but was followed by the gathering together of its parts into the solid structure of the Roman Empire, under the headship of the Italian city of Rome (about 200 B. C.), the victories of whose legions were utilized by the organizing genius of its statesmen to build a state which embraced the regions from the Euphrates to Britain, and endured for six hundred years (100 B. C.-500 A. D.). This sketch of the history of the ancient Eastern world illustrates the singular vicissitudes of its course and the series of forces which from century to century determined its progress. On this stage, and subject to these influences, Israel played its important, though minor, part, continuing from generation to generation through the whole drama to hold its unique place and develop the various phases of its marvelous life.

6. Israel was a branch of the same Semitic race which was the moving power in this long development of the Ancient East. But as an active force it did not appear till thousands of years of that history had elapsed. Its earliest recollections carried it back to the last centuries of that Babylonian Empire which laid its hand of organizing and civilizing power upon the lands of western Asia (about 2500 B. C.). Even then it remembered only forming a part of a large body of peoples that wandered through the plateaus of Palestine and gave rise to a brotherhood of nations under the leadership of heroes, of whom the foremost was Abraham, "the Father of the faithful." Not till a thousand years had passed and the Egyptian rule of this territory was over did it know itself as a nation brought into being by the creative genius of Moses, its lawgiver (about 1200 B. C.). Two centuries more followed, in which it brought its national life to completion by the setting-up of a kingdom (1000 B. C.), and became prominent among the states of the eastern Mediterranean coast under its kings, David

and Solomon. With varying fortunes, buffeted by the conflicting ambitions of the greater empires on the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates, it endured a few centuries, until its kingdom was wiped out by Babylonia (586 B. C.) and its people exiled to Babylon. There their faith in Jehovah, revived by inspired teachers, held them together. With the victory of Persia a part of them were restored to their land (538 B. C.), rebuilt Jehovah's temple at Jerusalem and renewed the old life in the form of a religious community under Persian control, which held its own when the Persian yielded to the Greek and, after deeds of marvelous heroism in defense of its faith, even succeeded in wresting its independence from Greek rulers (143 B. C.). The new monarchy endured till Rome's all-embracing might swallowed it up (63 B. C.). Whereupon Israel's checkered and wonderful career loses its independent interest and is merged into the larger life of the Roman world.

As a framework for Israel's history, therefore, the following outline may be given.

1. Israel's Ancestry (to 1200 B. C.).
2. The Beginning of the Nation (1200-1000 B. C.).
3. The National Monarchy (1000-586 B. C.).
4. The Exile (586-538 B. C.).
5. The Religious Community (538-143 B. C.).
6. The Religious Monarchy (143-63 B. C.).

7. For the knowledge of Israel's career the student is dependent on two chief sources:

a) The historical documents of other nations with which Israel came into touch in the world of which it formed a part. The course of its life was intertwined with theirs, and their annals, therefore, interpret its own career. The great nations of Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt have left abundant memorials, in the form of inscriptions of kings, accounts of military campaigns, lists of rulers, and the like. Even the remains of their architecture, painting, and sculpture, in temple, palace, and tomb, are instructive in throwing light upon the broad field in which Israel had its home, and in helping us to understand the conditions under which Israel lived.

b) But far more important than these is the record of its life which Israel itself has left. This record is not preserved in art. No splendid

buildings or statues remain to testify to its greatness. Israel accomplished nothing in these spheres. Its achievement was in the realm of religion. Its heroes were not artists or warriors, but men of God. Their memorials have been gathered up in the volume known to us as the Old Testament.

8. Two facts are of the first importance in the use of the Old Testament for the study of Israel's history.

a) The Old Testament is not a book but a collection of books. Israel was a literary people from its birth. Its first literature was songs, praising the deeds of its heroes, in lines which were handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. In the time of David and Solomon men began to collect these songs and write them down; they wrote also prose narratives of the events of the past. Soon after, the religious teachers put into writing the teachings they gave to the people, and the religious poets the psalms sung in the worship of Jehovah. From time to time collections were made of the ancient laws, and from the old narratives new books were compiled which gave a continuous history of the nation from the earliest times, to which additions were made bringing them up to date. The proverbs of the wise men were likewise gathered into collections. Scholars were constantly at work studying, revising, and republishing the old literature and contributing new works. When at last this process came to an end, the result appeared in the thirty-nine books of the Old Testament. Almost every period of the nation's history is represented in this library, either by a book or by a poem or document which is contained in a book. Hence the historian of Israel is wonderfully aided by finding in the Old Testament material of the first importance for the study of each age. His chief difficulty arises in his task of disentangling from this library of the Old Testament just those documents which, imbedded in the various books, bear most directly on the period which he studies.

b) The purpose which inspired the writers of the Old Testament was a religious one. The teachers, students, and writers of every age collected, compiled, and wrote, in order to teach the people some vital truth about Jehovah, his character, his dealings with the nation, his will, and Israel's duty toward him. We find that there were three classes of such teachers in Israel. First came the prophets, who

emphasized the righteousness of Jehovah, his hatred of sin and love of goodness, and declared that his will was that Israel should do right or suffer punishment for wrong-doing. Second, the priests, who dwelt on the importance of proper worship of Jehovah, laid down rules for its conduct, and built up a vast structure of priestly law. Third, the sages, whose interest was in the wise conduct of daily life; who praised thrift, honesty, and self-control, and warned against excess; who philosophized on Jehovah's government of the world and man's duty to himself, his neighbor, and his God. It is doubtful if there is one of the books of the Old Testament which is not the work of one or the other of these three schools of teachers, and inspired by the corresponding religious idea. The memorials of the history of Israel are shaped by the same purpose. The prophet or the priest is interested in preserving the recollections of his national history, because he can illustrate by it the religious lesson which he wishes his people to learn. He does not care for art, or science, for the story of battles or the economic and social history, for the reigns of kings or the affairs of politics, except as they may serve this religious end. His first concern is not to write a history, but to make men better. In confining himself to this task, he omitted much that we should like to know; he found a poem, a legend, or a folk-tale as useful for his object as an actual historical fact, and sometimes saw the events and characters of the history solely in the light of his own religious attitude, passing by other details and other aspects which did not serve his purpose, and interpreting all in the light of his own ideals. On the other hand, his deep religious insight led him to look below the surface and point out the abiding truth of the historical scene beneath the mere details. Thus he made the history of Israel a permanent object-lesson for all time, and the Old Testament an unfailing source of instruction to mankind.

EVOLUTION AND THE FALL

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There are few of the evangelical doctrines that have proved more troublesome to minds that move along lines of evolutionary theology than that of the fall. Evolution stands for gradual progress, prevailing upward, and it is hard for it to find a place for such a catastrophe as is supposed to have occurred in the fall of man. Consequently many thinkers are discarding it entirely, treating the Genesis stories as mere Babylonian myths unworthy of serious consideration. Some have argued for a real historical basis for the narratives, but have contended that the fall was a fall upward, so to speak; that is, instead of its being a dire calamity that brought the thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to, it was rather the birth of the moral consciousness, and the labor pains with which it came are to be forgotten in joy that the race was thereby brought into a larger life of wider vision and greater possible achievement.

We can all agree that such a testing as the traditional theology conceived the temptation to be, would be in itself good rather than ill; it is impossible in any other way to account for the fact that it was permitted by God. Moreover, the human mind cannot conceive of positive moral character being produced otherwise. Innocence is far inferior to righteousness; the innocent soul is the *tabula rasa*, but the righteous soul is the page heavily inscribed by proper decisions in the testing times of life. Positive character comes only as a result of reaction against outside influences. Duties done and temptations resisted produce uprightness; duties resisted and temptations heeded produce unrighteousness. Had man never known temptation, there is no way thinkable by which he could have come to positive moral character.

This is a very different thing, however, from admitting that the result of the original testing was good. Undoubtedly the traditional theology is in accord with the conceptions of the Biblical writers in

contending that the greatest calamity that man has ever known was the fact that in the first great testing he failed, and thereby the whole race has received a moral bias toward evil. Indeed, there is nowhere in the Bible a scintilla of contrary evidence. The doctrine has been questioned because of alleged lack of harmony with evolutionary philosophy, and for that reason alone. The contention is that, since man is a product of evolutionary processes, he could not have had such an experience, and therefore these Genesis stories are not even pictorial presentations of great truths, nor, indeed, anything more than merest worthless legends. The ground of objection is thus seen to be entirely scientific.

In the field of science itself, however, there are some things which support a belief in a fall, and which have not been given sufficient consideration. In the first place, evolutionary theory does not necessarily demand a progress that is constantly upward; most of the parasites, for example, are the product of an evolutionary process in the opposite direction. Nor, again, does it shut us up to a belief in a progress that is always gradual, with no leaps and bounds. Professor George H. Darwin, in his presidential address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Cape Town, said: "Certain considerations lead me to doubt whether biologists have been correct in looking for continuous transformation of species. Judging by analogy, they should rather expect to find continuous changes occurring during a long period of time, followed by a somewhat sudden transformation."

Of more importance than either of these considerations in relation to the doctrine of the fall is a positive evidence which comes to us as a result of embryological science, and which may be stated somewhat as follows:

Embryology teaches that the individual repeats in his early life the history of his ancestors. "The prenatal child passes up through every grade of animal life, from the simplest and lowest to the highest and most complex. Over one hundred and forty useless organs appear, grow, and are done away, like leaves upon this tree of life in this miracle of child-evolution." The process is not entirely prenatal either. "After birth this candidate for humanity continues this evolution, in which he has already repeated the history of the animal

world, by repeating the history of his own race-life from savagery to civilization." This process goes on till full manhood, we are told, and in the "gangs" of boys from twelve to sixteen, for example, are being repeated the group-forming instincts of earlier civilization.

Now, it is a fact of common experience that, when a child comes to the capability of moral choice and self-assertion, it passes through such an experience as Christian theology has taught was that of the race at the stage in its history then being repeated in the life of the child. In other words, the child passes through a fall in its own experience while repeating the history of the race. When it comes to a sense of moral obligation and is compelled to choose between self-gratification and the morally right, a child invariably, if left to itself, prefers self-gratification. If there is no check placed on its decisions by older guardians, it continually repeats the action with each case in which it is forced to make a moral choice. As a result, the same bias toward evil appears, the same consciousness of guilt or accusing conscience as has been ascribed to the race as a result of the fall. This is not to contend that the fall in the experience of the child is necessarily a single act or a clearly conscious experience. Undoubtedly the form is different in different cases, and it is immaterial to the argument whether it be thought of as a single act or as a process. Moreover, it is not to be expected that one should remember the change as a distinctly conscious experience; for it occurred before he was capable of careful introspection and self-analysis. Neither is it necessary to prove that all children become equally depraved; undoubtedly this is not the case, and there are many cases of children so superior to others that they have given rise to the contention that they were "always good." All that is essential to the validity of the argument is that which everyone will admit, namely, whereas I was once an innocent babe, I have become a guilty man. Between the two conditions somewhere there has been a fall. It is futile to object that what we have called the fall in the experience of a child is but the development of innate tendencies. It is on the presumption of such tendencies as being innate that the whole scientific theory of embryonic and post-natal development rests. It is the actual development of such innate and irresistible tendencies that constitutes the repetition of race-history which the scientist considers so significant.

The conclusion, if the premises are true, is inevitable: If the scientific theory that the history of the race is repeated in the experience of the individual is sound, and if there is a fall in ordinary human experience, the scientific presumption is that there has been a fall in the early history of mankind. Of course, this argument cannot be taken as supporting in detail a literal interpretation of the serpent story. It does not contend that the fall was necessarily a single act, or that it occurred in the experience of only two persons. So far as this argument is concerned, the fall may have come when the race was already a multitude every one of whom chose the evil. The most that it proves is that in the early history of man, whether as an individual or as a race, he came to the capability of moral choice, and when he did so he chose self-gratification at the expense of evil rather than the good, and thereby gave to his nature an enduring bias toward the evil.

It is thus made evident that, far from science disproving the doctrine of a fall, it rather substantiates it. The essential thing for which Christian theology has contended is that man's sinfulness was not his by original endowment, but has come as a result of his own wilful choice; and this is supported by the scientific presumption as above presented. The matters of detail, such as the number and nature of the original transgressions and the number of persons involved, are things to be determined, if at all, in other ways. Science cannot be expected to throw much light on them, and, indeed, to contend for them on the part of Christian doctrine seems hardly worth while.

EXPOSITORY STUDIES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

I. THE STORIES OF ORIGINS

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INTRODUCTORY

The Book of Genesis is the record of Hebrew ancestral traditions. It gives some account of the patriarchs, the men who were regarded as the progenitors of the nation, and prefaces this recital with the Hebrew stories of primitive times. It thus forms an introduction to the authentic history of Israel, beginning with the occupation of Canaan. It falls naturally into two sections—the stories of origins (chaps. 1-11) and the stories of the patriarchs (chaps. 12-50). The Hebrews were no exception to the rule that early nations, for the most part, possessed some traditions of the past purporting to describe the origin of the world and the beginnings of human life. The earliest questions with which childhood is concerned are those relating to its environment and the phenomena of nature. Similarly, the child-races sought explanation of the beginnings of the world and human affairs, and the traditions which took form under this impulse became the accepted cosmogonies of later generations. Among the stories of creation and primitive times preserved by the various nations,¹ those of the Babylonians show a marked resemblance to the Hebrew narratives.² Their chief difference lies in the elaborate polytheism of the former, as contrasted with the simple and lofty monotheism of the latter.

That the form of the stories among the two peoples is so similar as to prove close relationship is not doubted by any who examine them. But the biblical accounts are marked by a dignity and moral earnestness wholly lacking in the other stories. That the Babylonian tradition is the older of the two appears evident, both from the antiquity of that civilization

¹ Lenormant, *The Beginnings of History*.

² *Records of the Past*, New Series, Vol. 1, pp. 122f.; Lenormant, *op. cit.*; Kent, *Narratives of the Beginnings of Hebrew History*, Appendices III-V; Driver, *Genesis*, pp. 26-30; Dillmann, *Genesis*, Vol. I, pp. 33 f.; Kirkpatrick, *The Divine Library of the Old Testament*, pp. 47 f.; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 16 f.; G. A. Smith *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, pp. 67 f.

and from the improbability that an older nation would adopt the beliefs of a dependent nation in a small province of its empire. The evidence favors the view that Hebrew prophetism took the accounts of early times, either brought from Babylonia at the period of the migration or found on Canaanite soil as the result of eastern influence in the land, and, having purified them of their polytheism, employed them as vehicles of religious instruction. Clearly, little could be done by the spiritual teachers of Israel to impress the oneness, universality, and ethical perfection of Jehovah so long as the narratives of primitive times, so fascinating to an imaginative people, were being rehearsed in every household in their polytheistic form. The need of the hour was a cosmogony fitted to accompany the moral and spiritual messages of the men of God.

That these narratives are historical it is neither possible nor necessary to affirm. The early belief that they were authentic records of creation and the early life of the race has yielded gradually to a more just conception of their character and purpose as scientific evidence has accumulated. The fact that we have not merely one account of creation, but two (Gen. 1:1—2:4*a* and 2:4*b*—25), and that they are differentiated by such features as the two divine names, wholly contrasted orders of events in the creative process, and a totally different conception of the nature of Deity and his relation to creation, reveals the fact that our record in Genesis is composite, the union of at least two strands of tradition not easily reconcilable with each other. Further, the attempt to harmonize the first account of creation with the facts of geology and astronomy, once regarded as not only possible but convincing, has lost its apologetic value as the phenomena of nature are better understood; while no successful attempt has ever been made to harmonize the second account with the facts of science. The same results follow the close study of the remaining narratives in Gen., chaps. 1—11.

The value of the Hebrew stories of primitive times lies, not in their historical authenticity and scientific exactness, but in the service which they rendered to the religious life of an age easily seduced to the lower levels of polytheism and superstition. The exalted truths concerning God and humanity of which these traditions became the vehicle formed under prophetic ministry a part of that unique asset which is the glory of the Hebrew race. Facing such pictures of the origin of human life, it was impossible to escape their elevating influence as compared with other race traditions. Their value lay, not in the facts they purported to give, but in the truths they taught.

GOD THE CREATOR: GEN. 1:1-2:3³

I. CRITICAL QUESTIONS

The narrative of creation in 1:1—2:4a is followed in our record by another, of strikingly different nature, in 2:4b-25.⁴ The first is taken from the source known as the late priestly account, usually designated P. The second belongs to the early Judean prophetic source, J. The former is marked by a precise and formal order of events, with recurring formulae, such as, "And God said," "And it was so," "And God saw that it was good," "And there was evening and there was morning," in constant contrast with the free and flowing narrative of the second story. In the first account there is a somewhat logical order of progress in the creation: light, expanse, land, vegetation, luminaries, swarms of the waters, birds, animals, man; in the second the order is very different and far less natural, viz.: man, Eden, trees, beasts, birds, woman. Again the conception of Deity in the first story is reserved and majestic; in the second, anthropomorphic and intimate; while the divine names are Elohim ("God") and Jehovah ("Lord"), respectively.

The similarity of the biblical creation stories to those preserved in Babylonian records has been mentioned. Of these the creation epic, recorded on seven tablets discovered in 1875 by George Smith in the remains of the library of Ashurbanipal, is the most complete, and that portion of it which recounts the creation by Marduk bears unmistakable marks of relationship to our first story, while the Sumero-Babylonian story more closely resembles the second biblical account.

The difficulties involved in the supposition that Gen. 1:1—2:4a is a literal and correct representation of the events of creation disappear when its source, pictorial character, and purely religious purpose are considered. Those difficulties—such as the recent date assumed for creation as contrasted with the known antiquity of human and animal life; the impossibility of reconciling the order of events in the creative process with the facts known to science; the appearance of light on the first day, while the heavenly bodies were not created till the fourth; and the provision of vegetable food alone, whereas flesh-eating animals existed long previous to man—appear only so long as the narratives are made to bear the burden of scientific accuracy. When, however, their true character is perceived, the task of the reconciler of Genesis and geology is deprived of significance and value at the same moment that it is discovered to be impossible.

³ International Sunday-School Lesson for January 6, 1906.

⁴ Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 6th ed., pp. 5 f.; Carpenter, *The Oxford Hexateuch*, Vol. 1, pp. 76 f.

II. EXPOSITION

The creation story of Gen. 1:1—2:4a divides the process into seven stages, culminating in the sabbath of rest. To one living under a law which strongly emphasized the observance of the seventh day as a sabbath, creation would naturally fall into the framework of a week of creative power, ending with the sacred day of rest. To each day of this week a given section of the entire process is assigned, and the climax is reached in the sabbath, which for this reason, according to the prophetic version of the decalogue (Ex. 20:8-11), became the day of rest and worship.

The first two verses present the conditions previous to the first creative act, which is recorded in vs. 3. The whole might be rendered: "In the beginning, when God created . . . the earth being waste, etc., . . . then God said." In the Babylonian story the creation of the world by Marduk was preceded by the conquest of Tiamat ("chaos"). Over the formless void the divine spirit brooded with the promise of coming life.

With vs. 3 the regular recurring words of introduction, progress, and completion of each day's work first appear. "Let there be" is the potent word which brings the successive features of the universe into being; "And God saw that it was good" marks the perfection of each step; "And the evening," etc., gives the formal note of conclusion. The days are not to be understood as indefinite periods of geologic time, but in the ordinary sense familiar to the writer and his readers. The parallelism of the two groups of days, 1-3 and 4-6, has often been pointed out. On the first day the light is created, and on the fourth the light-bearers are formed; on the second day the expanse of firmament, the bowl-shaped solid vault which covers the earth, is made to divide the upper waters (of heaven) from the lower, and on the fifth the creatures of the waters and of the sky are created; on the third day the dry land is collected and vegetation appears, and on the sixth the creatures of the earth are brought into being and man is formed.

III. SERMON OUTLINE

Over against the polytheistic and grotesque beliefs of other races regarding the beginnings of the world, our narrative embodies the sublime truth that whenever this event occurred, however long it may have continued and by whatever method it may have been accomplished, it was *God* who was *the Creator*.

Over against the materialistic theories of our own day, with their denial of divine being or activity, the same great truth needs insistent emphasis: *God was the Creator*.

To the books of science we go to learn the *method* of creation; to the inspired narrative we must go to learn the *cause* behind all method.

If the slow processes of the evolutionary explanation of creation are the ones to which science leads the student, he does not thereby exclude God from the process. He merely learns that evolution is the divine way of working.

The familiar words of Cardinal Baronius are worthy of remembrance: "The Bible is not given to teach how the heavens go, but how to go to heaven."

MAN MADE IN THE IMAGE OF GOD: GEN. 1:26—2:3⁵

I. CRITICAL QUESTIONS

The words, "These are the generations of the heavens and the earth, when they were created" (Gen. 2:4a) constitute the formula employed by the priestly writer to introduce (or as here to close) one of the sections into which his work is divided. They properly belong to the narrative of 1:1—2:4a, and are used in nine other cases in the book of Genesis by the same writer.

The two narratives of creation (Gen. 1:1—2:4a and 2:4b—25) present divergent accounts of the creation of man. In the first he is the climax of the creative process; in the second he is the first to appear. In the first man and woman are created together; in the second the woman is formed only after the man discovers that among all the beasts of the earth there is not a help meet for him. In the first the creation of man is an act of the divine word; in the second, of active manipulation. In the first account the majesty and power of God are prominent; in the second the anthropomorphism is bold and impressive.

II. EXPOSITION

The plural used in the expression, "Let us make man," does not imply conference with angels, still less any doctrine of the Trinity. It denotes the impressiveness and solemnity of a creative act which brought the entire process to its culmination, and resulted in the bestowment of the possibilities of likeness to God upon man. It is appropriate that before this final act of creation God should speak of its importance.

The earth requires the master-hand of man to bring forth the noblest results, and to repress the tendencies to decay and ruin. Animals also need his humane and kindly lordship over them. For the revealing of the "sons of God," men through whom the divine purpose can be realized, the whole creation groans and travails in pain (Rom. 8:19—22).

⁵ International Sunday-School Lesson for January 13, 1907.

Our writer conceives the earliest estate of man and the beasts as one of friendly intimacy and kindness. No life was taken for food. Fruits and herbs were sufficient. The host of heaven and earth includes all the individual features of the creative process.

The later sections of the Hebrew law laid strong emphasis upon the keeping of the sabbath. Few crimes were regarded as more reprehensible than deliberate violations of the sabbath rules. It is the teaching of Ezekiel that because of neglected sabbaths the punishment of exile fell upon the people (Ezek., chap. 20). The author here naturally emphasizes the importance of the day. God selected it, he insists, from all the days as sacred to rest. Therefore man also should rest on the seventh day (Ex. 20:8-11).

III. SERMON OUTLINE

Man's likeness to God is potential rather than actual. He was created with possibilities undeveloped, but immeasurable in importance.

Our record affirms that God created man in his own image. It would be even truer to say with Jesus that God *is making* man in his image. The process is slow but certain wherever the co-operation of the human will can be secured.

The mastery of regenerate humanity over the earth and all its creatures is the dream whose realization prophets and apostles hailed.

The Hebrews sought the sanction of their sabbath by insisting that God rested on that day from all his work, and that out of kindness to one's servant he should allow him rest on the sabbath day, in remembrance of his own bondage in Egypt (Deut. 5:12-16). The Christian, recognizing the unwritten law that there must be a day of rest, selects the Lord's Day, not by divine command, but through the impulse of gratitude and reverence. The sabbath was a day of rest; the Lord's Day is more—a time of spiritual culture. The one was based on the law of an earthly commandment; the other, on the power of an unbroken life. The one was for the Hebrew race in the probationary state of its history; the other is for every age and all mankind.

MAN'S SIN AND GOD'S PROMISE: GEN. 3:1-6, 14, 15⁶

I. CRITICAL QUESTIONS

This narrative is a portion of the section 2:4b—3:24, which contains the second account of creation and the story of the first sin. It belongs to the Judean prophetic document, usually known as J.

⁶ International Sunday-School Lesson for January 20, 1907.

The picture presented is to be understood less as a record of primitive events of human experience than as the attempt to account for moral conditions as they existed in the writer's day, and as they have ever existed.

The scene is the garden in Eden (2:8; 3:23), which was apparently an ideal rather than a known region; for while two of its rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates (2:14), are easily located, the other two correspond to nothing in the geography of the Orient. The writer's location of the primitive home of man is in the East, but his standpoint is Palestine, not Babylonia (e. g., the fig tree [3:7] native to Syria, but not found in Babylonia).

While the sources of this story of the first sin are not so clearly traceable as those of the creation narratives, its relations with Babylonian ideas are discernible. In that region the garden lay. On a Babylonian cylinder in the British Museum there is represented a fruit tree, with two figures seated near, stretching out their hands toward it, while a serpent coils behind one of them. The connection of this scene with the Hebrew narrative of the first sin appears probable.

The serpent of the story is not the Satan of the later portions of the Old Testament (Job 1:6; Zech. 3:1; I Chron. 21:1); still less of the New. It is one of the creatures of the earth, though more subtle and clever—literally "smooth," "naked"—than the rest. It serves the purpose of representing evil suggestion as coming from without, while recoiling from the thought that it emanates from God, and unprepared as yet to accept the explanation of satanic agency which developed on Jewish soil under the growing influence of dualism.

II. EXPOSITION

The doctrine of the fall of man, with its insistence upon a primitive state of intellectual and moral excellence, is Miltonic rather than biblical. The Bible and the study of the moral life reveal the fact that character is the result of growth under spiritual laws and leadership, from crudeness and inexperience, through the discipline of temptation and conflict with evil, to wisdom and virtue.

The serpent has always been invested with unusual powers by superstitious races. By such it is believed to possess a mysterious and uncanny sort of cunning and subtlety enjoyed by no other creature.

The conversation between the woman and the serpent is supposed to have begun earlier. The first words here recorded mark the beginnings of the temptation. Nothing could be truer to human experience than this representation of temptation and its effect upon the will untrained to

resistance. Temptation is the appeal which positive evil or the lesser good makes to the human soul. Sin is the consent of the will to the allurements thus presented. Virtue is the rejection of the evil and the deliberate choice of the good.

The threat of death may well represent the writer's view that sin was the cause of mortality. If enlarged to the conception of moral degeneration and death when persisted in, this statement is profoundly true. Physical death was of course present in the world long before the appearance of man.

The curse pronounced upon the serpent is not only the vindication of the divine judgment upon evil, but is an attempt to explain the nature and habits of the reptile. A Jewish tradition asserts that previously the serpent had a different body with limbs, and walked as the other creatures.

The enmity between the woman and the serpent symbolizes the age-long conflict between evil and good represented respectively by the descendants of the woman and the serpent. This passage (3:15) is often called the *Protevangelium*, or first good tidings. It is, of course, possible to read into it the New Testament doctrine of the redemptive work of Christ. This, however, is not in the text, which expresses merely the idea of a continued struggle between the opposing forces, with loss and suffering to each. It is the function of other portions of Holy Scripture to declare the certainty of the triumph of righteousness.

III. SUGGESTED TEACHINGS

The Bible ever insists on the freedom of the will to choose the good and reject the evil. No other doctrine is consistent with a moral universe. No other view meets the facts of experience.

The rise of doubt is the open door to temptation. In the case of Jesus it was, "If thou be the Son of God." With the woman it was, "Hath God said?"

It is ever the nature of temptation to suggest the attainment of knowledge through unlawful experience. No appeal to youth is more subtle than this. "Your eyes shall be opened" was the seductive promise. But its fulfilment is ever hollow and disappointing. Knowledge is indeed gained, but it is knowledge which brings only humiliation and regret. "Their eyes were opened and they knew—that they were naked."

In every struggle with evil there is the chance of victory. The issue is not certain, else would there be no need of effort. The odds are great, and the promise of wounds and strokes sure. But it is the assurance of the Christ that he is in the conflict by the side of every man who fights the

good battle, who fights his best and draws not back. The conflict is not ours alone, but God's.

THE STORY OF CAIN AND ABEL: GEN. 4:3-15⁷

I. CRITICAL QUESTIONS

The narrative of which this study is a part is taken from the Judean prophetic document known as J. It presents a picture of primitive life with its occupations, religious customs, and even sins, as the Hebrews of a later age conceived it.

That the picture as presented is true to the facts of the earliest period cannot be affirmed. The features of the narrative are those of a somewhat advanced, not of the earliest, age. Life has passed out of the mere nomad type, and is marked by the settled occupations of farmer and shepherd. Sacrifice has advanced several stages beyond its earliest form. Society is sufficiently organized to have developed the clan spirit with its law of blood-revenge (vs. 14), and perhaps also the tribal mark or sign (4:16).

The value of the story lies, not in the trustworthiness of the incidents which it embodies, but in its interpretation of the causes which lead to such wrecks of character as that represented in the figure of Cain. The story is true to human experience even though it is not fact.

The first section of vs. 8 is incomplete. It reads literally, "Cain said to Abel his brother . . .", leaving out the thing said. Several versions—the Samaritan, Septuagint, Peshito, etc.,—supply, "let us go into the field," which has probably dropped out of the Hebrew.

II. EXPOSITION

The origin of sacrifice is not known with certainty, but it appears to have grown out of the primitive custom of a festival meal at which the deity was an unseen guest, receiving as his share the most highly esteemed portions of the food, viz., the fat and the blood. In the evolution of the ritual the meal gave place to a formal fire-offering with propitiatory significance. This is the character of the sacrifices presented by Cain and Abel.

Each man brought appropriately the fruit of his labors. There is no hint, as has been conjectured, that only animal sacrifices were acceptable. The cause of the rejection of Cain's offering lay in his spirit and temper, not in the nature of his gift. His evil mood was aggravated by the knowledge that his offering was not acceptable.

The divine word to him is full of gentle rebuke and suggestion of amendment. If he brings his gift with thankfulness and joy, as does

⁷ International Sunday-School Lesson for January 27, 1907.

Abel, why should he not have a light heart and a cheerful face? If not, it is because his evil nature lies like a wild beast by the way, ready to spring upon him as he goes out. That sinful desire is plotting for mastery, but he ought to be strong enough to resist and overcome it.

The sin of Cain is an advance over that of Adam and Eve, who acknowledged their transgression, but shifted the blame. Cain denies all knowledge or concern. As in the case of Adam, the ground is cursed on account of the sinner. The barrenness of some parts of Palestine could be thus explained by the writer.

There is no note of true penitence or sorrow in Cain's words (vss. 13, 14). He is merely alarmed concerning the consequences of his crime.

It is clear that the writer holds the view of the localization of each god in his own territory—a very prevalent Old Testament doctrine. Cain, in going out from the land where he has dwelt, is no longer in the sight of Jehovah. It is also assumed, perhaps unconsciously, that the earth is already peopled (e. g., Cain's fear of vengeance from the clan of the murdered man, and his marriage).

The sign granted Cain is not merely a promise of protection, but is a token, perhaps a tribal badge.

III. SUGGESTED TEACHINGS

The only offering with which God can be pleased is that of the heart and will. External gifts may express this, but they can never take its place. Any offering intended as a substitute for righteousness and love, such as sacrifice with the Hebrews, or money today, is worthless. God wants the life, not merely its products.

Blood tells. The sin of Adam bears fruit in the perverted nature of Cain. The law of heredity is a blessing to the good and a terror to the evil.

Sin is gravitation. Its tendency is to pull a man ever farther down. First with Cain it was an evil temper, then resentment and jealousy, then malice and murder, then brutal indifference to his crime.

Sin is the worst of its own punishments. No consequences that follow evil-doing are comparable to the state of pride and impenitence which is itself the essence of sin. Hell is the condition of a life consenting to remain in sin.

The mercy of God is greater than the evil of man's life. If there is original sin, still more is there original grace. The divine love anticipates all human need and provides the pathway of return to virtue. The consequences of sin cannot be evaded, but through penitence and suffering

the highway of holiness may be regained. "There's a wideness in God's mercy like the wideness of the sea."

NOAH SAVED IN THE ARK: GEN. 8: 1-16⁸

I. CRITICAL QUESTIONS

The narrative is composite, the result of combining the Judean prophetic account, J, with that of the late priestly writer. Even casual reading will discover the variations between the two.⁹ These include (1) the use of the names Jehovah and Elohim respectively; (2) the selection of one pair of unclean and seven pairs of clean animals for preservation according to J, but one pair of all kinds alike in P; (3) the duration of the flood as sixty-one days in J, while the priestly writer makes it a year; (4) in J the deluge is attributed to rain alone, while P speaks of the breaking-up of the subterranean fountains as well as the opening of the upper flood gates; (5) the J account is marked by highly anthropomorphic features (e. g., "Jehovah shut him in," 7:16; "Jehovah smelled the sweet odor," 8:21), as contrasted with the dignity and reserve of the other narrative.

The story of the deluge, although incapable of being related to any historical event of universal extent, and indeed rendered impossible by physical conditions, undoubtedly preserves traditions of local floods such as have given rise to similar accounts among other peoples. Indeed, the number and variety of these flood stories among the various nations show that disasters from inundations were not uncommon, and that they were among the most impressive of human experiences.¹⁰ Especially close is the resemblance between the Babylonian flood story and this of Genesis.¹¹ Both include the construction of a ship, the preservation of human and animal life by this means, the seven-days' storm, the sending-forth of a dove and a raven, and the sacrifice after departure from the ship. In comparing the two the same difference in tone and religious significance noted in the creation stories is observed. The polytheistic features have been removed in the biblical account. The narrative is made to serve an ethical and spiritual purpose.

II. EXPOSITION

The tragedy of all but universal destruction is described in simple but impressive words. Most vivid is the scene as described in the Baby-

⁸ International Sunday-School Lesson for February 3, 1907.

⁹ The two strands of the story are discussed in the introductions and commentaries, e.g. Driver, *Introduction*, 6, p. 14; *Genesis*, pp. 85 f.; Kent, *Beginnings of Hebrew History*, p. 63; in the last-named work they are printed in parallel form.

¹⁰ Lenormant, *The Beginnings of History*, pp. 382-488.

¹¹ Driver, *Genesis*, pp. 103 f.; Kent, *Beginnings*, pp. 374 f.

lonian epic of Gilgamesh. Even "the gods cowered like dogs at the edge of the heaven. Ishtar groaned like a woman in travail. The sweet-voiced mistress of the gods wailed."

Only the little company in the ark is saved for the future. This is the "remnant" of which the prophets so often spoke, the righteous nucleus which is ever the hope of the kingdom of God.

Ararat is a region north of Lake Van, a part of Armenia of modern times. The peak which now bears the name is very lofty and perpetually snow-covered.

The construction of the ark is too indefinitely described to afford satisfactory explanation of the opening through which the birds were liberated (see the commentaries on 6:16 and the description of the ship in the Babylonian story).

The subsidence of the waters, differing in duration in the two accounts, is revealed in the J narrative by sending out the birds, first a raven, which remained on the wing until the waters sank; then, since the raven did not return, a dove, sent three times over, after which Noah knew that the land was dry and so removed the covering of the ark.

The narrative is completed by the departure of all the living things from the ark at the divine command, the sacrifice of Noah (J), and the covenant ratified with the sign of the bow in the cloud (P).

III. SUGGESTED TEACHINGS

So fatal is human pride and selfishness to the divine purpose for the world that it seemed to the teachers of Israel that the destruction of the race was not too high a price to pay for a fresh start, after the failure of the first experiment.

Noah illustrates the type of righteousness that fearlessly champions the cause of truth in a generation of scoffers and apostates. Such men are the holy seed, the mediators of better times. They save not only their own lives, but those about them.

It has taken the world centuries to learn, under Christian instruction, that God does not use sudden and catastrophic forces to effect the discipline of human life. There are still, to be sure, such interpretations of disaster and destruction as the manifestations of God's wrath upon sinners. Earthquake and flame are thus interpreted by unreflecting minds. But far deeper and truer is the revelation of the Father given by our Lord. The divine admonitions are silent and continuous. The message of God is not in the storm, the earthquake, and the fire, but in the still small voice.

Current Opinion

Catholic Thought and Biblical Criticism

The attitude of some Catholic scholars toward the higher and the lower criticism of the Bible is interestingly reflected in recent articles in the *New York Review*.¹ In the third of a series of articles on "The Higher Criticism of the Bible," Dr. Francis E. Gigot expresses himself as entirely favorable to that method of study. "The problems of the higher criticism of the Bible are the lawful subject-matter of scientific investigation. Questions relative to the authorship, date, literary form, integrity, etc., of the Sacred Writings may be reverently, yet scientifically, examined in the light of principles which will commend themselves to unbiased scholarship. Such is the general position of students of the higher criticism of the Bible; and, obviously, its correctness can hardly be questioned by any fair-minded man." In such study, the examination of a book itself for evidence as to its date, integrity, etc., is of chief importance, and is all the more imperatively to be made in the case of the biblical books, so many of which are anonymous. Dr. Gigot is the author of a considerable work on Old Testament introduction, and his views on critical method are therefore of the more interest and weight.

In the same journal W. L. Sullivan discusses the Three Heavenly Witnesses of I John 5:7, especially in connection with Künstle's *Comma Johaneum* (1905).² Holding that the decree of the Roman Inquisition of 1897 does not preclude the study of the problem, he shows that the textual evidence is overwhelmingly against the passage, of which the Spanish Gnostic Priscillian of the fourth century was probably the author. Sullivan strongly condemns the view that the infallibility of the church is involved in the authenticity of the disputed verse, and that loyalty to the church requires of every Catholic that he accept the text, despite the verdict of criticism. Catholicity will in these modern days be better served by candid acceptance of the plain findings of scholarship.

The Latest Missionary Apologia

Mr. Chester Holcombe, for fourteen years secretary of the American legation at Peking and three times acting minister for the United States to

¹ "The Higher Criticism of the Bible," *New York Review*, September-October, 1906, pp. 158-61.

² "The Three Heavenly Witnesses," *ibid.*, pp. 175-88.

China, in a recent *Atlantic Monthly* article, entitled "The Missionary Enterprise in China," answers conclusively the charge, so frequently repeated, that the missionary is chiefly responsible for the anti-foreign sentiment of China. In the Boxer rebellion, Mr. Holcombe maintains, the missionary suffered not because he was a missionary, but because he was a foreigner. To say that the missionary is "forcing" Christianity upon a people already provided with a religion which entirely satisfies its needs is at least disingenuous. The Christian preacher in China is pursuing precisely the methods he employs at home. He is content in either case to present Christianity, for acceptance or rejection. That the missionary has at least as good a right to enter China and to follow his particular calling there as any American or European trader in cotton, goods, kerosene, or opium is too obvious to need argument. Not satisfied, however, to claim for the Christian teacher equal rights of residence in China with the foreign merchant or railway-builder, Mr. Holcombe goes on to show that, so far from hindering amicable commercial relations between China and the western world, the missionary has done very much to further them. The development of trade with the Occident is a very important "by-product" of the missionary enterprise. A complete and worthy apology for missions must, of course, take higher ground than this, and sweep a wider range. Nations do not live by trade alone. And it is hardly to be supposed that missionaries would obey a summons to retreat even should their work prove disadvantageous to commerce. But at least the objection that the preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ in China hurts trade would appear to be disposed of once for all by this temperate and judicial review of the situation.

Close upon this notable article, and offering another vigorous contribution to the "missions vs. commerce" discussion, comes a paper in the *Outlook* of October 6, by Frederick McCormick, an Associated Press correspondent in Russia and Manchuria, entitled "Has the War Eliminated America from the Far East?" Mr. McCormick deals at length with three matters in dispute—trade, politics, and missions, educational and religious. Upon the third of these topics he speaks with great plainness and directness, and the missionary could hardly ask for a completer and more satisfactory vindication. That the foreign residents in a treaty port should, with rare exceptions, be indifferent to missions, if not actually hostile, is a matter of course. "The missionaries are *in* China. The communities are *at* China." The community man cannot but feel that the life of the missionary is a constant protest against his own, with its frankly irreligious temper and its too frequent exhibition to the Chinese of "foreign vice."

It is manifestly absurd to accept his jeers and objurgations as expert judgment upon missions. But it is to these foreign community residents that the average tourist is indebted for his information or misinformation about mission work. Not one tourist in a hundred, says Mr. McCormick, ever visits the missions or any part of the interior. In general, he comes home to repeat the stories he has heard in the English clubs of Hong Kong and Shanghai. The value of this testimony, based upon a vaunted "personal observation," is negligible. As to the commercial value of the enterprise, Mr. McCormick is entirely at one with Mr. Holcombe. These coinciding judgments regarding the value of missions to the trade and commerce of both China and America, coming as they do from keen and qualified observers who are not themselves committed in any way to a religious propaganda, ought to carry to every unprejudiced mind very great weight.

In concluding his suggestive article, Mr. McCormick "lists" the opportunities now presented to America to make good with China and to repair her somewhat dilapidated fortunes in the Middle Kingdom. These opportunities are twelve in number. Two of the twelve must be particularized: "to extend banks and missions," "to stop condemnation of missions and quarreling among ourselves." Mr. McCormick appears to be concerned for missions not so much from admiration for the devoted lives of the missionaries themselves as from the conviction that missions form an indispensable agency in the moral, intellectual, and commercial development of China. It can hardly be expected, perhaps, that the man on the street who is accustomed to class the missionary and the mother-in-law together as furnishing an inexhaustible supply of material for jests, will ever learn wisdom. But the other man, the man who with all his errors and limitations does in his heart take Christianity, its claims, and its ideals seriously, must surely, if these illuminating articles come to his notice, reconsider his hasty condemnation of the missionary enterprise as a fanatical and a futile endeavor, and begin to ask if he himself perhaps cannot do something hereafter to further it.

AN ADVANCED COURSE FOR THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

The American section of the International Lesson Committee has issued a syllabus of an Advanced Course of Sunday School Lessons. The event is of such significance that we feel justified in occupying the necessary space for the reprinting of the list of the lessons and passages. It is as follows:

THE ETHICAL TEACHING OF JESUS

- I. THE SUPREME STANDARD.
 1. Ye shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect. Matt. 5:43-48; Luke 6:32-36.
- II. THE TWO FUNDAMENTAL COMMANDS.
 2. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart. Matt. 22:34-38; Luke 10:25-27; 11:42.
 3. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Matt. 22:39, 40; Luke 10:25-27; 6:31. Compare I Cor., chap. 13.
- III. SPECIAL PRECEPTS (growing out of the Two Fundamental Commands).
 - A. THOU SHALT NOT TRESPASS (Negative, repressing evil).
 - a) *By Sinful Desires, Thoughts, and Purposes.*
 4. An Evil Heart. Mark 7:20-23; Matt. 15:18, 19; Luke 6:43-45; Matt. 5:27-30.
 5. Anger and Revenge. Matt. 5:21-26, 38-48; Luke 6:27-36.
 6. Covetousness. Luke 12:13-21; Mark 10:17-31.
 7. Selfish Ambition. Mark 9:33-37; 10:35-45.
 8. Anxiety, as dishonoring God. Matt. 6:19-34.
 - b) *By Sinful Words and Deeds.*
 9. Censoriousness. Luke 6:37-42; Matt. 12:33-37.
 10. Lying. Matt. 15:19; John 8:39-46; Luke 22:54-62.
 11. Swearing and Blasphemy. Matt. 5:33-37; 26:62-64; 12:24-32.
 12. Formalism and Hypocrisy. Mark 7:1-13; Matt. 23:1-39.
 - c) *By Sins of Omission.*
 13. Sins of Omission. Matt. 25:41-46; 7:21-27; Luke 19:20-26.
 14. Review.
 - A. THOU SHALT HUNGER AND THIRST AFTER RIGHTEOUSNESS (Positive, developing virtues).
 15. Humility. Matt. 5:3, 5; Luke 14:7-11; John 13:1-17; Luke 17:7-10; 18:9-14; 22:24-30.
 16. Gratitude. Luke 17:11-19; John 6:11; 11:41; Luke 24:30, 31.
 17. Forgiveness. Matt. 6:12-15; 18:15-35; Luke 17:3, 4; 23:34.
 18. Mercy and Sympathy. Matt. 5:7; Luke 10:25-37; Matt. 25:34-40; 18:23-34.
 19. Patience and Endurance. Matt. 5:10-12, 38-42; 10:22; 26:62-68; Luke 23:8-11, 34-36.

20. Courage. Matt. 10:16-39; Luke 4:16-30; John 11:7-16; 15:20, 21; 16:33.
21. Review.

C. THOU SHALT RENDER LOVING SERVICE (Positive, love in action).

a) *To God.*

22. Repentance and Faith. Mark 1:14, 15; 11:22-24; Luke 13:1-5; 15:1-32; John 14:1. Compare Acts 20:21.
23. Reverence and Worship. Luke 4:8, 16; John 4:19-24; Luke 18:43; 6:12; 22:40-46.
24. Work for God. John 4:34-38; Matt. 5:13-16; 9:35-38; John 5:17; 9:3, 4; 17:4; Matt. 28:18-20.

b) *To Men in All the Relations of Life.*

(1) *In the Family.*

25. Conjugal Love and Faithfulness. Mark 10:2-12.
26. Parental Love. Matt. 7:9-12; Luke 15:20-24; Mark 10:13-16.
27. Filial and Fraternal Love. Luke 2:41-51; John 19:25-27; Mark 7:9-13; 10:19; John 1:41, 42; Luke 15:25-32.

(2) *In the Church.*

28. Christian Fellowship and Loving Service. Matt. 18:15-20; 20:25-28; 23:8-12; John 13:34, 35; 17:20, 21.
29. Review.

(3) *In the Community.*

30. Loving Service to Personal Friends. Luke 10:38-42; John 11:1-44; 15:13-15; Matt. 26:37, 38.
31. Kindness to Personal Enemies. Luke 6:27-38; Matt. 5:38-48. Compare Rom. 12:17-21.
32. Helping the Destitute and the Suffering. Matt. 6:2-4; Luke 12:33, 34; 14:12-14; Matt. 25:31-46; Acts 20:35.
33. Service in Reforms. John 2:13-17; Luke 7:36-50.
34. Duties of Employers and Employees. Luke 6:31; Matt. 20:1-16; 24:45-51; 25:14-30.

(4) *In the State.*

35. Patriotism and Good Citizenship. Matt. 22:15-21; Luke 19:41-44; John 18:1-13.
36. Peace. Matt. 5:9, 21-26, 38-42; 26:47-56; John 4:7-9, 39-42. Compare Isaiah 2:2-4; 9:6, 7; 11:6-9.

(5) *In the World.*

37. Seeking and Winning Lost Men Everywhere (Christian Missions). Matt. 9:35-38; 28:18-20; Acts 1:3-8.
38. Review.

IV. SOME UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES.

39. Whosoever Loses His Life for Christ's Sake Shall Find It. Mark 8:31-38; Matt. 10:37-39; 20:22-28; John 12:24, 25.
40. Responsibility Measured by Privilege and Opportunity. Luke 11:29-32; Matt. 11:20-24; Luke 12:47, 48; John 15:22-25.
41. Fidelity the Prime Quality in the Discharge of Obligation. Luke 19:11-27; Matt. 24:45-51; 25:14-30.
42. An Unworthy Motive Vitiates Good Works. Matt. 6:1-18.

43. Duties Never Conflict. Mark 2:23—3:5; Luke 13:10-17; Mark 7:6-13; Matt. 10:34-37; 22:15-22.
44. The Sanctions of the Moral Law Are Eternal. Matt. 13:36-43, 47-50; 10:28-33; 16:26; 25:46.
45. Review.
- V. AIDS TO THE PERFECT LIFE.
46. New Life through the Holy Spirit. John 3:1-21.
47. Moral Fruitfulness Dependent upon Union with Christ. John 15:1-17; 14:20-23; 17:20-23.
48. The Inspiration of the Perfect Life of Christ. John 1:14-18; 8:46; 12:35, 36; 17:19; 18:23. Compare Heb. 4:15; II Cor. 5:21; I Peter 2:21-25; I John 2:6; 3:2, 3.
49. Prayer an Aid to the Perfect Life. Matt. 6:5-15; Luke 11:1-13; 18:9-14; 5:21; Mark 1:35; Luke 5:16; 6:12; 9:28, 29; 22:40-46.
50. Victory over the Tempter through the Word of God. Matt. 4:1-11; John 8:31, 32; 17:17.
51. Constant Help from the Holy Spirit. John 14:15-31; 16:7-15.
52. Review.

The issue of this optional course is a distinct step in advance on the part of the American members of the International Committee. It is perhaps doubtful whether the present moment is the most opportune for such a step. The regular lessons for 1907, dealing with the patriarchs and judges of the Old Testament, are of such a character that it is precisely the advanced classes of the Sunday school that can deal with them most successfully; it is the intermediate classes that most need relief. But, whatever the special reasons, we welcome the alternative course as an earnest of the committee's purpose to recognize the principle of adaption of material selected to the different grades of pupils.

In the preparation of this list of subjects and passages the committee evidently labored under the difficulty created by the necessity of making fifty-two lessons, and did not altogether escape it. But this can hardly justify what we can but regard as the infelicitous main classification or grouping of the subjects, or the departure in the case of many of the specific subjects from the point of view of Jesus as clearly indicated in the passages cited. The whole scheme has an unpleasant appearance of having been controlled too much by what the framers of the lessons wanted to find for the pupils, too little by the point of view and purpose of Jesus. The result, as we judge, is that the lessons are really less adapted to the needs of the pupils than if more care had been taken to discern the mind of Jesus.

To be more specific, is it wise to begin the whole series of lessons by setting forth the perfection of God as the supreme standard? Will not the subject introduced at this point lack that concreteness which is necessary

to make it effective for teaching purposes, and which it would possess if placed after the special precepts? What is the difference between "Fundamental Commands" (II) and "Underlying Principles" (IV)? Why should one precede and the other follow "Special Precepts"? The apparent unity of Group IV seems artificial and imposed upon the material rather than found in it. The passages cited under 39 set forth a fundamental ideal of ethical life, and deserve to be grouped with the passages cited under II, 2, 3. The title of 42 is a generalization of Jesus' teaching in the passages cited which quite departs from his point of view. What he is teaching is that men should do their acts of righteousness unostentatiously, as in the sight of God, not for the sake of gaining the praise of men. That duties never conflict is a good practical maxim, but it is only remotely suggested by Jesus' teaching concerning the sabbath set forth in Mark 2:23—3:5, and suggests a wrong point of view for all the passages cited under 43. And how does it happen that a subject so prominent in Jesus' teaching and so practical in today's life as the sabbath is never mentioned?

But the most serious fault we find in the treatment as a whole is the legalistic cast which has been given to it. It is true, indeed, that Jesus often speaks in the imperative: "Give to him that asketh of thee," "Judge not that ye be not judged." But that fact is far from warranting a systematic statement of Jesus' teaching in a form which suggests to the student that Jesus was a legalistic scribe who gave to the world a new list of Thou-shalt's and Thou-shalt-not's. Nothing is farther from the truth. Nothing is more calculated to give the pupils a false impression of the spirit and point of view of Jesus as an ethical teacher. So serious does this error seem to us that we venture to commend these lessons for use in advanced classes only with the proviso that the teacher systematically correct them in this respect.

Work and Workers

THE ANNUAL CONVENTION of the Religious Education Association is to be held at Rochester, N. Y., February 5-7, 1907. A strong programme will be presented on the general theme "The Materials of Religious Education." The year 1906 has been one of noteworthy progress for the Association. It has established a bi-monthly journal, entitled *Religious Education*, which is edited with ability and fills a place not precisely occupied by any other periodical. It has held numerous local conferences, and has presented its purposes at over one hundred summer assemblies and similar gatherings. It has established an exhibit and reference library at its office. New guilds have been organized. The membership has been greatly strengthened, and the financial situation is in all respects encouraging.

REPORTS recently received from theological schools in the United States, including all the leading schools for graduate students, but excluding in general those of lower grade, yield the following interesting statistics:

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| New students entering autumn, 1906 | 1196 |
| New students entering autumn, 1905 | 1158 |
| Total registration, autumn, 1906 | 2949 |
| Total registration, 1905-6 | 3029 |
| Average total registration for ten years | 3049 |
| Total registration in 1889-90 | 3036 |

These figures seem to indicate that in the seventeen years since 1889-90 there has been no appreciable increase in the number of students attending the higher grade of theological schools. They might be somewhat changed by including the schools not in existence in 1889-90, and allowing for the growth of some of the smaller schools not included in the above statement. At best, however, the number has remained practically stationary, with some fluctuation from year to year, and gains in some schools offset by losses in others. The experience of different denominations has been very unequal. Among the Methodists and Episcopalians there has been a notable gain in this period, offsetting losses in some other denominations.

Die Christliche Welt for October, 1906, states that the number of students of evangelical theology in Germany has diminished from 4,581 in the winter semester of 1887-88 to 2,136 in the winter semester of 1904-5. In other words, in the seventeen years in which the population of the German Empire has increased by ten millions the number of students for the ministry has diminished over 50 per cent.

THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY continues this year its "Extension Courses for Lay Students," under the direction of Professor Richard Morse Hodge, D.D. It offers a long list of courses at the seminary and at other points in the city of New York. The enrolment in these courses in the last five years has amounted to more than two thousand persons, most of them Sunday-school teachers from the churches of New York City. The example of Union Seminary ought to be followed by seminaries and universities in other cities.

It is a significant testimony to the rising tide of determination to improve the Sunday school religiously by improving it intellectually, and to the enlistment in this effort of a high order of talent, that a number of Sunday schools have of late reorganized their work by grading the school and putting all the pupils of each grade in charge of a thoroughly competent teacher, to whom is committed the whole responsibility of instruction without "quarterlies" or other textbook save the Bible. The University Congregational Church of Chicago has recently adopted such a plan as this, under conditions which will make the results achieved well worth observing. The First Congregational Church of Columbus, O., of which Dr. Washington Gladden is pastor, has recently reorganized its educational work under the leadership of Rev. Charles C. Kelso, superintendent of the Sunday school. A course on "How the Bible Grew," conducted by Mr. Kelso, with a view to providing the school with teachers who have at least a general knowledge of the whole Bible, is attracting to the school many who have hitherto had no relation to it, and the outcome promises to be a great improvement in the teaching force of the Sunday school. Among other schools that are making notable progress through the organization of their own forces may be mentioned those of the First Presbyterian Church of Austin, Chicago; the Baptist Church of Oak Park, Ill.; the Second Congregational Church of Rockford, Ill. In each of these cases the movement, which has resulted in a marked increase of interest and improvement in the work, has begun with one person who had conceived a higher ideal of what a Sunday school should be and become ambitious to see this ideal realized. What is true in these schools is doubtless true in scores of others, and might be in hundreds.

AN advanced course of study in early Old Testament history as far as Samuel is being issued by the Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society. The authors are Professor I. F. Wood, of Smith College, and Rev. Newton M. Hall, of Springfield, Mass. This course is offered as an optional substitute for the International Lessons for 1907, which traverse

the same biblical ground. The new course is notable as presenting fully and clearly the historical interpretation of the Old Testament which leading scholars now approve. It is gratifying that the material available for good Sunday-school instruction increases rapidly now.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS is making encouraging progress in the issue of its "Constructive Bible Studies." Two volumes have been issued since October 1: Gilbert, *A Short History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, a textbook for pupils of high-school age, and Gates, *A Life of Christ*, for pupils in the fifth and sixth grades. Two volumes are in the press: Miss Chamberlin and Mrs. Kern, *Child Religion in Song and Story*, for teachers of pupils of the first, second, and third grades, with an accompanying book in outline for the pupils; and Waring, *Christianity and Its Bible*, a book for adult classes. Two others are nearly ready for the press: Willett, *The Book of Samuel*, and Burgess, a revision of Burton and Mathews, *Life of Christ*, to adapt it more perfectly to high-school pupils. Several others are in a less advanced stage of preparation.

THE tendency which is gradually transforming the Sunday school from a Bible school strictly so called into an agency for all-round religious education, especially of the young, has manifested itself in the last year in a notable emphasis upon the study of missions in the Sunday school. This has appeared in various ways. The *Biblical World* has published two articles on the subject, and the American Baptist Missionary Union has issued a volume by Miss Hixson, entitled *Missions in the Sunday School*. Text-books for such study have been published by the Presbyterian Board of Missions, and perhaps by others. At Silver Bay, Lake George, N. Y., July 17-19, 1906, there was held a conference of leading Sunday-school and missionary officials and workers for the discussion of the needs of missionary instruction in Sunday schools. Eighty-four persons were present, representing seventeen religious denominations and various religious organizations, including the Executive Committee of the International Sunday School Association. The conference has issued a statement of its views, of which the following is a part:

Missionary instruction is an essential part of religious education, and should be included in the curriculum of every Sunday school: by the missionary treatment of such lessons of the International or other series as are clearly missionary in spirit or content; the frequent use of missionary illustrations in Sunday-school instruction; the use of supplemental graded or ungraded missionary lessons; the regular or occasional use of carefully planned missionary programmes as closing exercises for the schools; the organization of mission study classes to meet special needs in the various departments of the school.

A missionary atmosphere should be created in the Sunday school through its worship: by the occasional selection for the opening exercises of passages of Scripture bearing directly upon missions; by missionary petitions in public prayer; by the use of missionary psalms and hymns; by the cultivation among the pupils of habits of systematic, proportionate, and individual giving to missionary objects.

The International Sunday-School Lesson Committee should be urged hereafter to provide as many lessons with definite missionary content as can conveniently be done. The providing of a number of such lessons for use in the near future is noted with satisfaction.

Missionary instruction in theological seminaries should be broadened so as to include the study of missions and methods in the Sunday school.

It is to be hoped that editors of Sunday-school lessons and textbooks will remain true to the recommendation of the conference that the passages of Scripture selected for missionary treatment be such as are "clearly missionary in spirit or content." It would be a misfortune, both from the missionary and the biblical point of view, if the legitimate desire to introduce missionary instruction into the Sunday schools should lead to a warping of Scripture for that purpose.

MR. CLAYTON S. COOPER, Bible-Study Secretary of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, reports the following facts respecting the study of the Bible in universities and colleges, in the year 1905-6: 560 institutions reported 33,157 men in Bible classes, as against 25,260 in 528 institutions in 1904-5; 112 normal training classes for student leaders were reported in 99 institutions; these classes were taught by college presidents, deans, professors, clergymen, and general secretaries; 2,837 fraternity men were enrolled in the Bible classes in 103 institutions, as against 1,909 men in 53 institutions the previous year. The officers of the Association will give special attention the coming year to the promotion of Bible study in professional schools, and in high schools. In both these fields the outlook is very encouraging.

THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION reports the following facts respecting the study of the Bible among the women students of the country: In the school year 1905-6 Bible study was carried on under the Association by 19,161 students in 599 classes in 390 colleges.

In addition to the work of the two Christian Associations, an increasing number of colleges offer instruction on the Bible in the curriculum by members of the faculty. Accurate statistics on this matter are difficult to obtain; but such facts as are accessible indicate that not less than 225

colleges are offering such courses, and that some 16,000 students are availing themselves of them.

THE reports of the American Institute of Sacred Literature published in recent issues of the *Biblical World* show not only an increased activity on the part of the Institute, but encouraging progress in biblical study. The Institute lecturers upon biblical subjects have their time completely filled with engagements. Ministers to the number of fifteen hundred have co-operated with the Institute in promoting Bible study in their churches. More than four thousand persons are carrying on definite courses of study with the Institute. The largest of the classes, numbering over one hundred, is in Philadelphia, the most remote in Egypt. In addition to these, there have been reported 129 classes formed as a result of its campaign, but taking the courses under denominational or other auspices. Perhaps the most significant element is the apparent growth of the feeling of responsibility for the educational work of the church seen through correspondence with ministers. An effort to secure "evangelization through education" is noted in an ever-increasing degree.

THE EPWORTH LEAGUE of the Methodist Episcopal church conducts courses in the Bible, personal evangelism, Christian life and experience, missions, and Christian stewardship, besides a comprehensive course of study for the Junior League. During the year 1906 there has been a marked increase of interest and enthusiasm in the educational work. A correspondence course for Junior League superintendents and their helpers has met with most gratifying success. To meet the demand for more efficient leadership, an institute was held in the summer, under the management of the general secretary, on the Des Plaines camp ground. The success was such that three or four such institutes will be held in different sections of the country during the summer of 1907.

THE BAPTIST YOUNG PEOPLE'S UNION OF AMERICA conducts educational work in three subjects—Bible reading, sacred literature, and missions; and in three departments—the Junior, Senior, and Advanced. One hundred thousand students followed one or more of these courses during the past year. A notable feature of the work is that young people have been influenced through these studies to enter upon a college course in some of our schools of learning. From one small society ten young people were led to enter the university in the course of four years through the influence of these studies.

THERE are many indications that the foreign missionary work of the Christian church is rapidly passing into a new stage of development, in

which education is to fill a much larger place than formerly. Twenty years ago there was a strong sentiment among missionaries and officials of missionary organizations in favor of evangelization as the chief, if not the sole, duty of the Christian church to the non-Christian peoples and educational work, though actively carried on, was in a measure on the defensive. Today, if we mistake not, the dominant sentiment is that expressed by Dr. Dennis in his recently issued volume on *Missions and Social Progress*, that "the mission school is the cheapest and most effective method of reaching the life of the non-Christian community for the purpose of evangelizing it." Of all lands in which missionary work is going forward none is in a more interesting or critical condition at this hour than China. With marvelous rapidity China is freeing itself from the shackles of centuries, and opening her doors and windows to the influence of modern ideas as developed in other lands. What Japan did a few years ago, China is now doing in a yet more wonderful way. In this situation it is recognized by practically all intelligent observers that the problem of Christian missions is pre-eminently an educational one. Instead of a thousand men on horseback going through China and giving an average of ten minutes to each man and woman and child—substantially the plan advocated by a most distinguished missionary to China a few years ago—it is generally recognized that what China calls for today is schools and teachers. Nor is it simply elementary schools, or schools for the education of the children of Christians, but colleges and professional schools and even universities, that China needs today. It is an interesting fact in this connection that the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions has just sent to China a commission consisting of four men to make a study of the whole situation, and that the American Baptist Missionary Union is about to send a similar commission with similar purpose. The Christian church confronts today in China and Japan, especially in China, a situation which for significance and critical importance has scarcely been surpassed perhaps not equalled since the foundation of our great missionary societies a century ago. And the appeal which this situation makes in the name of world-statesmanship and humanity and religion is pre-eminently to Christian educators.

Book Reviews

Teacher's Guide to the International Sunday School Lessons for 1907.

By MARTHA TARBELL, Ph.D. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. Pp. 553. \$1.25.

"Since few teachers have the time or the opportunity to forage for themselves in many fields of information, this book has been written that they may find within its covers the general knowledge and the results of special research necessary to a full understanding and wise presentation of each lesson." To a remarkable degree Miss Tarbell has succeeded in accomplishing the purpose which she has thus set before herself in her *Teacher's Guide*.

The book opens with elaborate "Suggestions to Teachers," marked by an excellent combination of religious insight and practical wisdom. Possibly, if some of these paragraphs could be made briefer and more terse in expression, the average teacher would be more apt to profit by them. A series of brief introductions to the first nine books of the Bible follows. This should prove very helpful for reference. In regard to the Book of Judges, however, the author seems to have made an unfortunate slip in allowing the traditional estimate of its chronology to stand, although this can hardly be harmonized with the facts from Egyptian history which she elsewhere adopts. A chapter on "Geography and History" follows. This is especially valuable in its geographical portions, where lucid explanation is supplemented by a series of very helpful maps. In the historical portions some points which are open to serious question are stated as though assured facts. Doubtless the limitations of the work make this, at times, almost unavoidable, and the historical statements are, as a whole, much more satisfactory than is usually the case in Sunday-school helps.

Following these topics of a more general nature, comes the detailed treatment of the fifty-two lessons which occupies by far the larger part of the entire volume. For each lesson the biblical passage is printed according to the King James Version, but, under the heading "Words and Phrases Explained," there is a brief commentary in which all important variations in the American Revision are given, together with comments, many of which are taken from the best recent writers. A well-chosen collection of "Suggestive Thoughts from Helpful Writers" follows. The next paragraph is styled "Light from Oriental Life," and its material

is brief and generally to the point. "The Geography Lesson" of the week calls for the study of a small portion of the excellent geographical chapter. Under the head of "Approach to the Lesson" fresh and original material is given, designed to aid the teacher in securing interest and attention. This matter is of two kinds, adapted to the younger and the older pupils. The "Lesson Thoughts and Illustrations," which follow, are chosen from a wide range of religious and general literature and are so classified as to show at a glance their bearing upon the few principal thoughts of the lesson. "Sentence Sermons" constitute the next paragraph. These are usually appropriate, but one wonders whether they are of sufficient service to warrant the trouble and space involved. The biblical quotations given in the following paragraph, called "The Bible Its Own Interpreter," suggest, at a casual glance, the old days of proof-texts, but they are not selected in the spirit of that era of Bible study and are often most illuminating. "The Lesson Story" is a good paraphrase, the "Personal Thought" and "Subjects for Bible Class Discussion" will be found stimulating, while the "Work to Be Assigned for the Next Lesson" is so planned as to suggest an interesting variety of work very definitely assigned for home study.

There are pictorial illustrations throughout the book. These are good and are abundant without being too profuse. They consist chiefly of representations of important ancient inscriptions, and sculptures, and of reproductions of Tissot's paintings.

Even this brief description of the book indicates that it furnishes a greater variety of material than any one teacher can use in any one class—more, perhaps, than many teachers can find time to master for their own growth in knowledge and appreciation of the Bible; but the clear, orderly arrangement of the whole makes it possible for each to select that which seems most appropriate for individual needs and uses, and Miss Tarbell rightly holds that the successful teacher will have far more than "just enough knowledge for the lesson period."

Now that the International Lesson Committee is assigning a year of continuous work, the truth is more potent than ever that the competent teacher must have some view of the year's work as a whole, before attempting to teach the parts. In helping to secure such a view, a book like this is of admirable service. The teacher who has not access to large library facilities, or time and training for wide personal study, will find in Miss Tarbell's *Guide* a veritable treasure house.

HENRY T. FOWLER

BROWN UNIVERSITY

Hebrew Life and Thought: Being Interpretative Studies in the Literature of Israel. By LOUISE SEYMOUR HOUGHTON. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906. Pp. ix+386. \$1.50.

The Origin and Permanent Value of the Old Testament. By CHARLES FOSTER KENT, Ph.D., Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906. Pp. xii+270. \$1.

The former editor of the *Evangelist*, favorably known through her various literary labors, seeks in *Hebrew Life and Thought* to enable the ordinary reader of the Bible to appreciate it as literature. The book will be very useful to many readers, in spite of the fact that it has from the scholar's point of view some serious faults. Chapter 1, "The Day-Book of the Most High," is a plea for an appreciation of the Bible as literature. Chapter 2, "Folklore in the Old Testament," is a very useful essay, and should be heartily commended to the reader. One wonders, however, that Gen., chaps. 2, 3, and 6:2-4 are not mentioned. The titles of the remaining chapters tell the story of the literary aim of the book. They are: "The Poetry of the Old Testament," "Heroes and Heroism," "Eastern Light on the Story of Elisha," "Love-Stories of Israel," "A Parable of Divine Love," "Secular Faith," "The Search for Spiritual Certainty," "The Hebrew Utopia," and "The Law and Modern Society."

The aim of the book is good. It breathes a profound faith. Its author loves the Bible all the more because it is not only a book of religious instruction, but appeals to her as literature in the way the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* does. The defects of the book are occasional extravagance of statement, too great an effort to make out biblical laws and family life superior to anything else in antiquity, and an artificial interpretation of such books as Canticles and Ruth.

The author's extravagance of statement appears, for example, on p. 45, where she says that commentators "have shed gallons of ink over reams of paper" to explain a point in the experience of Elijah which seems to her clear. Again, it may be seen on p. 329, where she makes too extravagant a statement of the excellencies of Israel's law, and on p. 356, where she is far more laudatory of the Hebrew laws of marriage and divorce than the facts warrant. This last instance seems to have arisen from long association with the Bible as an inspired book, and failure fully to estimate it as literature in comparison with other literature. Lev., chap. 18, which is cited as restricting polygamy in Israel, really does not touch the subject at all. One could certainly obtain wives enough without marrying his near kindred.

The deuteronomic law, which allowed the husband free right of divorce for any cause, provided no alimony, and denied to women all similar rights, is certainly inferior to the Code of Hammurabi, §§ 137-40, which provides for alimony if a wife is divorced, and under some circumstances permits the wife to initiate a divorce. One need not deny that the Hebrew treatment of women was in some respects inferior to the Babylonian in order to maintain the inspiration of the Bible, for the test of inspiration is the conception of God, rather than excellence in the details of social organization.

In her interpretation of the Song of Solomon Mrs. Houghton is a generation behind biblical science. She still follows the interpretation of Ewald which makes it a drama, enacting how a shepherd maiden was faithful to her shepherd lover, in spite of the blandishments of Solomon aided by the ladies of his court. Biblical science today (except those who cannot be expected to discard in age views championed in youth) more correctly regards the book as a collection of songs sung during the festal week after an oriental marriage, in which the physical charms of bride and groom and the delights of wedded life are set forth with a frankness unknown to occidental life. When once one reads the poem with his eyes open, it is clear that it is a praise of wedded love throughout. Chap. 2:6 is on the dramatic theory attributed to the unmarried Shulamite, but it would be no more pure for her and her unwedded shepherd lover than for her and Solomon. The poems were no doubt enacted as a sort of rude drama, but that they had any such plot or purpose as this book claims is loudly denied by the poems themselves.

Similarly the story of Ruth is misunderstood (pp. 155-58). The euphemism "feet" of Ruth 3:4, which is used in many parts of the Old Testament, is mistaken, and an act of a rude age is glossed over and made unreal.

Possibly these defects will make the book more useful than it would otherwise be to some who are not prepared to face the truth. We heartily sympathize with the purpose and spirit of the volume, although we wish it were even better. The form and make-up of the book are excellent.

Professor Kent's most timely and useful book deserves to be read by a large body of Christian people. Its author is already well and favorably known through his histories of the Hebrew and Jewish people, and also through his *Student's Old Testament*, which is still in process of publication. The work before us is of a more popular nature than either of those mentioned. It is designed to help intelligent laymen to understand just how modern critical study has affected the Bible, and what in view of that effect the permanent value of the Scriptures is. The volume is in reality broader

than its title, for it covers the New Testament as well as the Old. Its scope and contents are indicated by the titles of the chapters: "The Eclipse and Rediscovery of the Old Testament"; "The Real Nature and Purpose of the Old Testament"; "The Earliest Chapters in Divine Revelation"; "The Place of the Old Testament in Divine Revelation"; "The Influences That Produced the Old Testament"; "The Growth of the Old Testament Prophetic Histories"; "The History of the Prophetic Sermons, Epistles, and Apocalypses"; "The Development of the Earlier Old Testament Laws"; "Influences That Gave Rise to the Priestly Laws and Histories"; "The Hebrew Sages and Their Proverbs"; "The Writings of Israel's Philosophers"; "The History of the Psalter"; "The Formation of the Old Testament Canon"; "The Interpretation of the Earlier Narratives of the Old Testament"; "Practical Methods of Studying the Old Testament"; and "Religious Education—the Fundamental Problem of Today." The title of the concluding chapter—which, by the way, is a very valuable one—suggests that the book is in reality one of the fruits of the organization of the Religious Education Association, and places intelligent Christians under obligation both to that Association and to Professor Kent.

The author presents his subject with admirable clearness and fairness, and in an untechnical way. Anyone can grasp the points which he makes. Professor Kent's grasp of the religious value of the literature which he passes in review is as firm as his grasp of the intellectual and historical problems which its discussion involves. In the "Earliest Chapters in Divine Revelation" Professor Kent recognizes—and this is an admirable feature of the volume—that in the long ages before the rise of Israel a beginning was made by Babylon and Egypt in the grasp of important fundamental truth, and that Israel at a later period built upon this foundation.

There is singularly little in the book from which one would differ. One such point occurs, however, on p. 46. In stating that the Code of Hammurabi "marks almost as high a stage in the revelation of what is right as the primitive Old Testament laws," Professor Kent hardly does justice to the noble Babylonian code. In some respects, as in its laws of divorce, the Code of Hammurabi exhibits a more advanced conception of right than even the law of Deuteronomy.

On the whole, however, Professor Kent has presented a large and difficult subject in small compass and popular form, with admirable clearness, fairness, and success. A copy of his book should be in the home of every church member in the country.

GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR, PA.

- The Song of Ages: Sermons.** By REGINALD J. CAMPBELL. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1905. Pp. 308. \$1.25 net.
- The Inspiration of Our Faith: Sermons.** By JOHN WATSON, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1905. Pp. 359. \$1.25 net.
- Bread and Salt from the Word of God.** By THEODOR ZAHN, Th.D. Translated by C. S. BURN AND A. E. BURN. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1905. Pp. 306. \$1.50 net.
- Expositions of Holy Scripture.** Vol. I, The Book of Genesis. By ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1906. Pp. 339.
- The Garden of Nuts.** By W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, LL.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1905. Pp. 232. \$1.25 net.
- The Work of Preaching.** By ARTHUR S. HOYT, D.D. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1905. Pp. 355, \$1.50 net.

The perusal of a few recent books, sermonic and others, has led to the question: To what extent and in what way does the preacher make use of the Bible in his work? In one of these books Dr. Robertson Nicoll makes the statement: "References to the Bible in sermons, so far as we hear and read them, are surprisingly small." Certain it is that the Bible is not now generally employed as it was. One does not find the modern preacher buttressing his arguments with texts of Scripture. But there is very much preaching that is biblical through and through. The Bible is the great storehouse of illustration of our best preachers. It is the religious classic from which they quote freely and constantly. They find the norm of religious experience in the saints of the Old and New Testaments. They have emerged very largely from controversy about the Bible and have learned to value it for its religious power.

An examination of these six recent books may indicate a trend. Three of them are volumes of sermons; two are expositions, the one homiletic, the other devotional; and one is a classroom treatise on preaching.

At the first blush one would not call the minister of the London City Temple a biblical preacher. He is so modern and humanitarian; he is so unconventional as a sermonizer; he is so direct and frank and free. But for these very reasons he can be thoroughly biblical, and he is. As a matter of fact, there are few preachers who devote so much of their sermons to exposition of the text as Mr. Campbell. Often one third, sometimes one-half, of his discourse, is a presentation of the significance of the Scripture passage. "The Song of the Ages" is a sermon from the Apocalypse. Skillfully declining to interpret the visions, but indicating

his belief that the details of the Apocalypse were doubtless better understood in the beginning than they are ever likely to be in the future, he seizes upon the thought of the song of the faithful. He discusses the Song of Moses; he draws illustration from the triumphs of Israel; he refers to the Paschal song; he dwells on the songs of the early martyrs. Then connecting, as his custom is, all history and life with the Bible history and life, he speaks of the song of the faithful on earth in all ages.

Another sermon in this volume is upon the locusts of Joel. He discusses with interest and insight the prophet's method of using passing events for religious effect. Then, with Peter's sermon as a justification, he spiritualizes the locusts.

Mr. Campbell is putting out a number of volumes of sermons. He confesses that he does not offer them as a contribution to sermonic literature. They are not models of style, but they are practical, interesting, familiar, helpful, brotherly. They are in the best sense biblical, and they breathe the spirit of Christ. He has not great variety of style. These seventeen sermons are of the same general type. But it is a type that will attract men and do good. The volume contains a picture of the preacher's fine face as a frontispiece. A judicious young critic said: "Mr. Campbell has the beauty of a woman with the strength of a man." He would be a model for a St. John.

Another preacher who would not be called biblical is Dr. John Watson. He is certainly not an expository preacher. He does not, like Mr. Campbell, build his sermon upon Scripture passage or incident. Yet his text is not a point of departure; it is the thought of the sermon. Biblical suggestion, illustration, quotation abound. "The Inspiration of Our Faith" is a sermon pleading for the recognition of the primacy of emotion in religion as in poetry. It is a presentation of the rich emotional elements of the Bible and of the church. Another sermon, on "The Passion of God," is a noble plea for the biblical anthropopathism in our thinking of God.

These twenty-nine sermons may indeed be called a contribution to sermonic literature. Here is rare spiritual insight, winning appeal, poetic beauty of expression. And always Ian Maclaren preaches Jesus.

A volume of sermons from the German pulpit, well translated into English, is welcome indeed. Dr. Theodor Zahn is professor of theology in the University of Erlangen. His sermons are based on the New Testament pericope, and are expositions generally of considerable portions of Scripture. His method is a discussion of the passage with much insight and skill, the deduction of a theme from the discussion, and then a careful analysis of his theme. These sixteen discourses are not theological.

The great scholarship of the preacher enables him to be simple and familiar. He announces his purpose to give a bit of bread and a pinch of salt from the Word of God. His well-known conservatism is occasionally, though not obtrusively, evident. These sermons represent the strong German pulpit. They would probably be considered rather dry by an American congregation.

Dr. Alexander Maclaren has undertaken a great work. *Expositions of Holy Scripture* will really be a contribution to homiletics rather than to biblical science. The veteran expositor in a series of large volumes will present his thoughts on the significance of the great passages of Scripture. Vol. I, "Genesis," has come from the press. The chapters could almost be preached as they stand. The following may indicate the author's attitude: Gen., chap. 1, speaks not of cosmogony, but of God; "how far the details accord with the order of science we are not careful to ask;" whether or not the story of "the fall" is legend is of less consequence than its moral and religious significance; the fall is a historical fact, for no tribe has ever advanced apart from the gospel; Enoch's translation brought the future life into the realm of fact; the sacrifice of Isaac was not a crime to Abraham, it was the crowning test of faith.

Dr. Maclaren is at his best in the discussion of the incident at Peniel, "the twofold wrestling." It is a deeply spiritual exposition. With the fine reserve of this great preacher, the modern pulpit will be safe in "spiritualizing" the Old Testament.

The Garden of Nuts is a startling title. The editor of the *Expositor* adopts the old phrase of the mystics, by which they designated the portion of the Old Testament in which they delighted, as a title for his plea for a deeper interpretation of Scripture. Dr. Nicoll thinks that we have much to learn from the mystics. He admits modern criticism, but insists that there is an interpretation above criticism. He has little patience with "the historical setting" of passages of Scripture. People will not listen to a preacher who must have a map behind him. The great passages of Scripture are timeless. There is no commentary on Scripture but Scripture. "Criticism has changed and will change, but to the mystic the Word of God remains." That the sense intended by a particular writer is of solitary importance the mystic can never believe.

One is not quite sure how much Dr. Nicoll means here. Is it that any beautiful words of Scripture may mean anything that a pious soul feels them to mean, and still be Scripture? Then what a waste of time has been all biblical study! What matter for the discovery of manuscripts, the settlement of the text, the development of an exact exegesis? We are not

concerned to know what Amos or Luke said or meant, so long as there is something nice under their names that may suggest a beautiful thought to us. If Dr. Nicoll means anything like this, he must not attempt to ascribe any authority to Scripture at all.

But if he means simply that a great word of a prophet or apostle far exceeds its primary application, as new conditions give it larger meaning, then most students with any insight must be reckoned among the mystics. If he means that higher criticism must not be aired in the pulpit, and that sermons need not all begin with a discussion of "the circumstances under which these words were spoken," then it is scarcely necessary to write a book in defense of his view. As a matter of fact, when he comes, in the second part of his book, to apply his "mysticism," we have much the same use of Scripture that Mr. Campbell, Dr. Watson, and Dr. Mac-laren have given us. "Christ in the First Psalm" is an essay on the ideal man. Of course, the first psalm suggests Jesus. "They Came unto the Iron Gate" is a discussion of Peter's deliverance, yielding the noble truth: Man's extremity is God's opportunity. Dr. Nicoll admits that he follows Phillips Brooks's beautiful exposition of "The Prophecy of the Bruisings." It is in finding the religious value of the miracle stories and the hero-stories that the modern preacher may find his Bible a storehouse of truth.

In including Dr. Hoyt's treatise on *The Work of Preaching* in this discussion, we would not minimize its value as a textbook. Perhaps it would not be too much to say that it is the best modern book for the classroom upon the subject. It is scientific, sensible, suggestive. But the two chapters on "Scripture Authority in Preaching" are particularly interesting.

Dr. Hoyt would have the preacher use the scientific method in the study and presentation of the Bible. He says this method is giving a diviner life to the Bible. He warns against "spiritualizing," and insists that the Scriptures are not a treasury of texts. He calls for a sensible, scholarly, manly treatment of the great literature, which is the vehicle of God's self-revelation. But he still speaks of the Bible in the terms of external authority. He says that we can be sure that we are giving the message of God only as our subject harmonizes with biblical truth. He would have the preacher regard the Scriptures as "the infallible rule of faith and practice."

One could wish that Dr. Hoyt had given a different idea of authority. If the Bible is an infallible rule, then it is a treasury of texts. We are not much in need of infallibilities after all. We need inspiration, stimulus, strength, direction, truth, beauty, life; and our best preachers will still find these in the supreme religious classic—the Bible.

T. G. S.

New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

JENSEN, P. Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur. Band I: Die Ursprünge der alttestamentlichen Patriarchen-, Propheten-, und Befreier-Sage und der neutestamentlichen Jesus-Sage. Strassburg: J. Trübner, 1906. Pp. xviii+1030. M. 40.

The interest of this heavy and learned volume lies for the Bible student in its attempt to trace back the stories of Israel's spiritual heroes to Babylonia as their original home. The Gilgamesh Epic of Babylonia has spread abroad into all lands and taken deep root in Israel, where it has yielded abundant fruit in patriarchal legends, stories of the prophets, messianic hopes, and finally in the story of the gospel itself. Fact and fancy are inextricably intermingled in this hypothesis, which will commend itself to no scholar endowed with a sense for the historical.

ARTICLES

SAYCE, A. H. The Chedor-Laomer Tablets. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. Vol. XXVIII, Part 6, pp. 193-200.

The first part of an article intended to demonstrate the presence of the names of Chedor-Laomer, Arioch, Tidal, and Amraphel on the well-known Assyrian tablets.

JOHNS, C. H. W. Statistics of Sabbath Keeping in Babylonia. *Expositor*, November, 1906, pp. 433-40.

A keen criticism of results hitherto obtained concerning the Babylonian sabbath observance, and a proffer of new evidence pointing to such observance.

KÖBERLE, J. Orientalische Mythologie und biblische Religion. *Neue kirch-*

liche Zeitschrift, November, 1906, pp. 838-59.

The first instalment of a discussion intended to show the falsity of the view that derives all Israel's mythical and legendary conceptions from Babylon.

MAECKLENBURG, A. Über den Ephod in Israel. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, November, 1906, pp. 433-60.

The author concludes that the use of the name "ephod" both for a garment of the priest and for an image is due to the fact that the word has twofold significance: (1) it denotes the garment of the priest who is the representative of deity; (2) it is transferred to the image or shrine which encircles or clothes that which the priest represents, viz., God.

ESTES, D. F. Higher Criticism. *Review and Expositor*, October, 1906, pp. 501-16.

An attempt to define and describe higher criticism by one evidently disposed to discount largely the claims made by the critics in behalf of their results.

POPE, F. H. The Integrity of the Book of Isaiah. *Irish Theological Quarterly*, October, 1906, pp. 447-57.

A defense of the unity of the Book of Isaiah by a Catholic writer which fails utterly to appreciate the difficulties encountered by such a hypothesis.

FULLERTON, A. K. The Invasion of Sennacherib. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1906, pp. 577-634.

The writer aims to show that the biblical narrative of Sennacherib's invasion reflects two campaigns of the Assyrian king instead of one, as has been commonly supposed. The article thus furnishes in English a scholarly discussion of a problem that has already engaged German scholarship for some time.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

HALL, EDWARD H. Paul the Apostle as Viewed by a Layman. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1906. Pp. 203. \$1.50 net.

A rapid and suggestive survey of the work and thought of Paul, from a non-theological, but on the whole intelligent, point of view.

ARTICLES

DEISSMANN, AD. The New Testament in the Light of Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World. II: The Importance of the Texts for the Philological Interpretation of the New Testament. *Expository Times*, November, 1906, pp. 57-63.

The New Testament was written, for the most part, in the colloquial, popular form of the common Greek which was current, in substantial uniformity, throughout the Graeco-Roman world. It was thus in form, as well as in content, a book of the people.

GARVIE, A. E. Studies in the "Inner Life" of Jesus. XVI: The Foreshadowings of the Cross. *Expositor*, November, 1906, pp. 410-26.

Professor Garvie holds that Jesus realized from the first that his mission was to save men from sin by the sacrifice of himself, and that the manner in which the sacrifice was to be made gradually became clear to him, as opposition developed and strengthened.

SMALL, ROBERT. Problems of the Fourth Gospel. I: Christ's Temptation Retained in the Subconsciousness of the Fourth Gospel. *Expository Times*, November, 1906, pp. 67, 68.

Judas, with his continual worldly promptings, was the human agent in the temptation of Jesus, which thus has its reflection in the Gospel of John as well as in the Synoptics—an ingenious, if not altogether probable suggestion.

GREY, H. G. A Suggestion on St. John 19:14. *Expositor*, November, 1906, pp. 451-54.

The difficult "sixth hour" in John 19:14 is relieved by slightly modifying the text, so as to translate, "Now there was preparation for the Passover at about the sixth hour;" i. e., the Jews had in view the midday celebration of the Chagigah Passover, and were impatient to be about their preparations for it. This solution of the difficulty seems precarious.

WARD, F. W. ORDE. The Stature of Christ. *Ibid.*, pp. 441-51.

HARRIS, J. RENDEL. The Use of Testimonies in the Early Christian Church.

Ibid., pp. 385-409.

In early Christian writers, and perhaps even in the New Testament itself, there is evidence of the use of a written collection of Old Testament testimonies against the Jews, which must thus have been one of the very earliest works of Christian literature.

MACKINTOSH, ROBERT. The Antichrist of 2 Thessalonians. *Ibid.*, pp. 427-32.

The expected "apostasy" represents the final and open defection of the Jews from the service of God, and the "man of lawlessness" is the apostate Jewish people, or some commanding individual in it. The "restrainer," on the other hand, may be the Christian Jews at Jerusalem, or Michael the angel of Israel, or the Roman empire. This identification of the lawless one seems to go beyond the evidence.

ROHR, I. Zur Einheitlichkeit der Apokalypse. *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1906, Heft 4, pp. 497-541.

Völter's elaborate analysis of the Apocalypse is subjected to a rigid and extended scrutiny, and rejected, the traditional date and view of the book being deemed preferable.

FEINE, P. Ueber babylonische Einflüsse im Neuen Testament. *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Vol. XVII, pp. 696-727.

While conceding that there is first-century color in the thought of New Testament writers, John and Paul among them, Professor Feine contends that their Christianity was not the result of the admixture of oriental ideas with the gospel of Jesus, i. e., a syncretist religion, as Professor Gunkel affirms. Those writers naturally, and properly, undertook to articulate Jesus, as they interpreted him, with their view of the world, as every Christian thinker has to do.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

RICHARDS, WM. R. The Apostles' Creed in Modern Worship. New York: Scribner's, 1906. Pp. 168.

Lectures on the religious value of the Apostles' Creed for modern believers.

ARTICLES

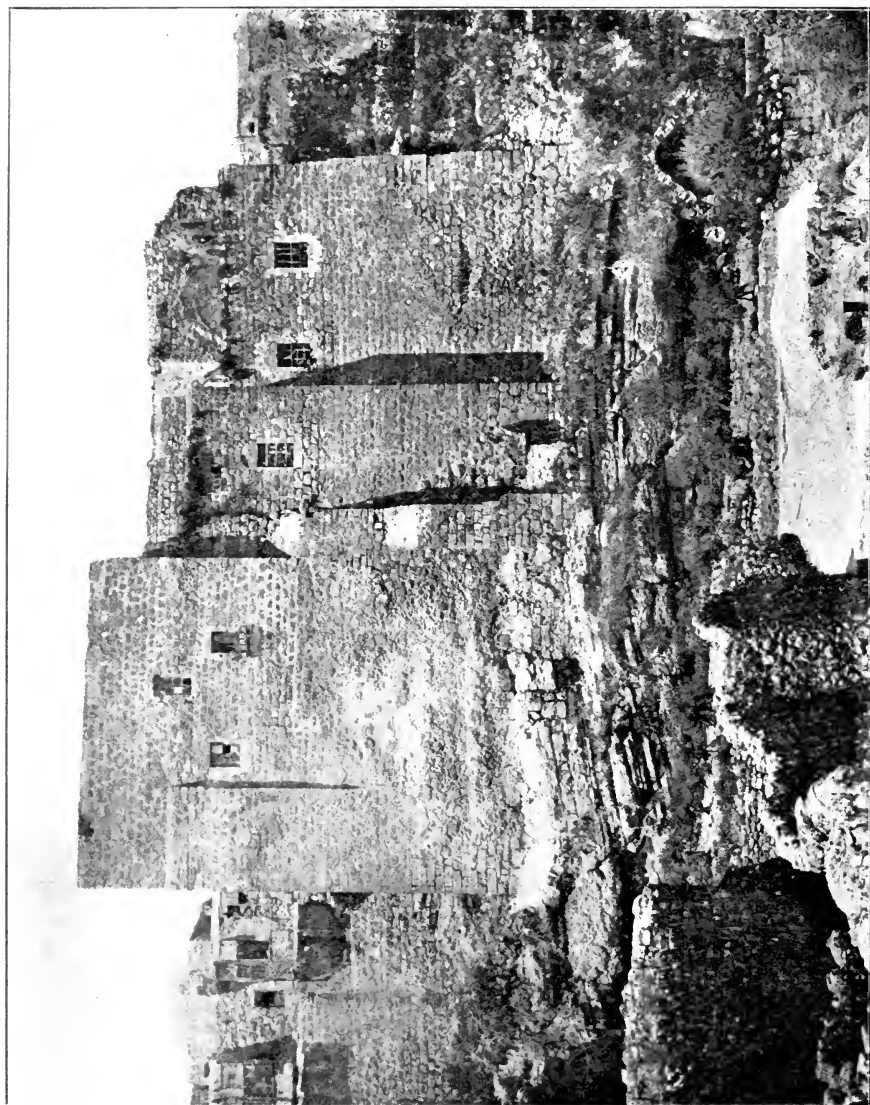
RAMSAY, W. M. The Permanence of Religion at Holy Places in the East. *Expositor*, November, 1906, pp. 454-75.

Asia Minor seems to exhibit much the same immemorial veneration of sacred sites as Professor S.

I. Curtiss found in Palestine, surviving all changes of population and religion. This resemblance to Curtiss' work does not seem to have struck Professor Ramsay.

VETTER, PAUL. Die Armenische Paulus-Apokalypse. *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1906, Heft 4, pp. 568-95.

Important new materials for the text of this apocalypse (first published by Tischendorf in 1866) have lately come to light in Armenian, no less than four different recensions of the work having been published by the Mechitarists of Venice. Of one of these Vetter gives a considerable part in translation and the remainder in a summary.



Palestine Exploration Fund

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Editorial

THE REWARDS OF FREE INVESTIGATION

The question *Cui bono* must ever and again recur to the earnest-minded worker in every field. Why should the geologist toil at the problem of how worlds are made? Why not be content with the fact that they are, and give over asking how they came to be? Why should the philosopher spend his time laboriously framing a thinkable *Weltanschauung*? Would it not be more useful to raise turnips? Why should the astronomer seek so diligently to find the number and the distance of the double stars? Will they shine any more brightly when he has finished his work? Why should the biblical scholar laboriously search out the history of ancient nations, the origin of ancient institutions, the date and authorship of ancient books, the meanings of long-obsolete words, the usages of Greek cases?

Now and then we seem to get the answer as in a nutshell. General Leonard Wood, speaking at the memorial service to Dr. Walter Reed, who conducted the experiments by which it was proved that yellow fever is communicated by the bite of a mosquito, experiments in the course of which one of his heroic associates lost his life, is reported to have said: "His discovery results in the saving of more lives annually than were lost in the Cuban War, and saves the commercial interests of the world a greater financial loss in each year than the cost of the entire Cuban War."

Modern medical science, itself impossible apart from the scientific spirit in general, and achieving many of its results by processes and instruments which were invented rather in the scientific spirit proper than in the specifically philanthropic spirit, achieves for humanity

almost in an hour results that thousands of physicians in the ordinary practice of their profession could never achieve. The faith that truth is worth searching for indicates itself in human welfare, and even in results that can be statistically expressed and entered upon the ledger.

But Dr. Wood's statement suggests even more than it expresses. Are the needs of men's minds less real than those of their bodies? Was the service which those heroic assistants of Dr. Reed rendered, when they exposed themselves to the danger of death from yellow fever, confined to the reduction of the death rate and the saving of money? Is it worth more to keep men alive than to inspire them to heroic unselfishness? Where are the real values of life? Is the farmer a greater benefactor of mankind than the teacher? He renders the world a valuable service who makes wheat grow where before there were only sage brush and the cactus; who coaxes nature to add another to the list of edible fruits; who makes a flower larger, or its odor more delicious. Does he do less who by years of silent toil, in the quiet laboratory of the mind, furnishes a foundation for sound ethical thinking; for a religious life that appeals to thoughtful men; for institutions which conduce to human prosperity?

And if these latter achievements are as real and as valuable as the former, can they be attained by any less thorough, fearlessly investigative process than those which are necessary for the former? Shall we bid the chemist and the bacteriologist go forward with their work, even at the cost of a life now and then lost in the process of experimentation, while we bid the philosopher, the theologian, the biblical student stay his hand? Is progress desirable in horticulture and in medicine and domestic science, but undesirable in the sciences that deal directly with the things of the spirit?

The answer will depend in the end upon our confidence in the healthfulness of truth, and in the power of the human mind to discover it. He who has this confidence will not demand that the result of an investigation be forecast as a prerequisite to its being undertaken, nor shut the door in the face of it lest it rob us of something valuable. Comparatively little knowledge of the history of investigation will teach him that the uncovering of a tablet in Assyria or of a papyrus in Egypt, the more accurate definition of the force of the Greek article or of a Hebrew noun, may contribute each its

mite to the modification of religious conviction and life in America today; and the aggregation of many such increments may bring about results of large significance. But he will welcome all investigations, not because he foresees the result that will come or desires change, but because he desires truth and has confidence in its helpfulness.

It is this confidence that is the mainspring of our modern intellectual life, and especially of that investigative study which is so characteristic of it. Mere curiosity may start a man upon the road: but only the conviction that truth is good for man can give him that patience and sustained enthusiasm which are necessary to the successful investigator. When that confidence dies out from men's hearts, blank and dreary pessimism is not far away. While it lasts, fearless investigation will go forward. All who share it ought, not indeed to accept all the results of every real and pretended investigation, but to applaud and encourage investigation itself.

Nor is it desirable that investigation should be any less free and untrammelled in ethics and theology than in physics and bacteriology. In both realms there are certain qualities that the investigator must possess in order that his results may be entitled to confidence. In neither is there need of the prejudiced and prepossessed advocate. In both the results even of the most competent investigators must run the gauntlet of the criticism of their peers before they can ask to be included in the encyclopedia of assured results. But in both alike freedom of research is indispensable to the best results. Indeed, it is even more necessary in the theological than in the physical and biological sciences. For the denial of it in the former realm not only estops progress, but throws the mantle of doubt over already acquired possessions. The reply, "These matters are not open to discussion," engenders the very doubt it was intended to suppress. Free investigation is the only guarantee of strength of conviction.

We need, more than words can easily express, men intellectually and spiritually competent, and by long study amply equipped, for investigation in all the fields of theological thought, and we need that faith in the value and healthfulness of truth that will open all doors to them. Fearless investigation is the condition alike of healthful progress and of secure possession.

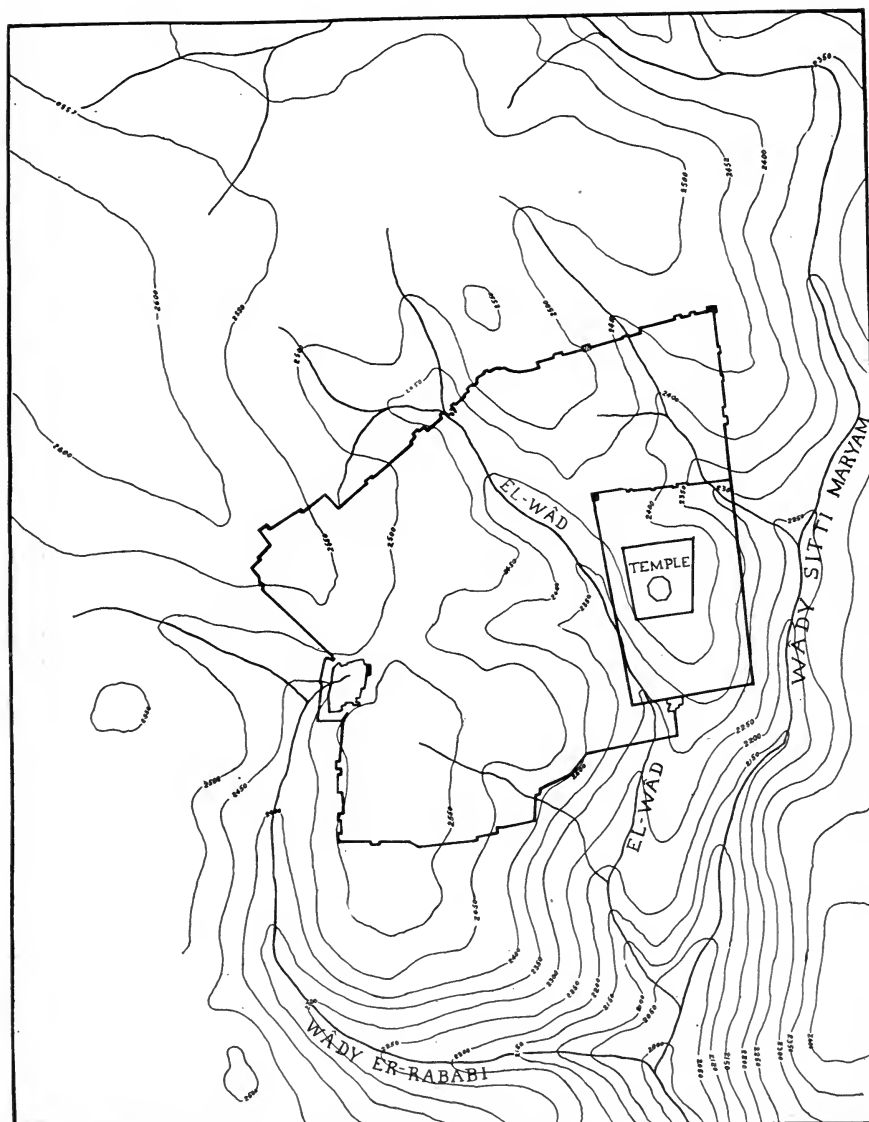
JERUSALEM IN BIBLE TIMES

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II. THE VALLEYS OF ANCIENT JERUSALEM

Jerusalem lies on a plateau between two deep gorges. The principal one of these starts north of the city in an insignificant depression known as Wâdy ej-Jôz, or "Valley of the Walnuts." In its upper reaches this lies about 2,500 feet above the sea. It circles around at some distance from the northeast corner of the city and then falls rapidly in a southwesterly direction, continually approaching the eastern wall. At a point opposite the southeast corner of the city, it lies 200 feet below its source. Between this point and its junction with the other main valley it falls 300 feet more. In this portion of its course it is known as Wâdy Sitti Maryam, or "Valley of the Lady Mary," being so named from the Virgin's Fountain that lies in its midst. Below its junction with the other main valley it is known as Wâdy en-Nâr, or "Valley of Fire." This falls rapidly between lofty cliffs to the Dead Sea, 1,300 feet below sea-level.

The Wâdy Sitti Maryam has very precipitous sides. At all points its banks are so steep that they render the city impregnable on its eastern side. The cliffs are full of rock-hewn tombs, which show that once there existed here an important ancient city. The commanding sepulchral monuments known as the Tomb of Absalom, the Tomb of James, and the Tomb of Zechariah, near the southeast corner of the Haram, or Mosque area, are conspicuous landmarks. The view of Jerusalem from the lower end of this valley, looking up toward the Mosque on the left and the village of Silwân on the right, is very imposing. This valley is dry, except during the rainy months when a considerable stream flows through it. The water of the Virgin's Fountain, which must formerly have entered it, is now diverted through the Siloam tunnel. The result is that the Wâdy has a drier appearance at present than it must have had in ancient times.



THE VALLEYS OF JERUSALEM

The second main valley of Jerusalem begins as a slight depression, 2,500 feet above the sea, west of the modern city, and runs in a southeasterly direction to a point near the Citadel, where it is joined by another small depression that comes from the Jaffa Gate; it then descends rapidly close to the west wall of the city. At a point opposite the southwest corner it is 2,300 feet above the sea, and at its junction with the Wâdy Sitti Maryam it is 2,000 feet above the sea. In its lower course south of the city it runs almost due east.



Photograph by L. B. Paton

WÂDY SITTI MARYAM

This valley is known at present as Wâdy er-Rabâbi, or "Fiddle Valley." Like the Wâdy Sitti Maryam, it has very precipitous sides, and protects the city on the west and the south. The cliffs on its western and southern sides are full of ancient rock-hewn tombs. This valley contains no springs, and, therefore, is dry throughout the year except after an occasional hard rain. It is a smaller depression than Wâdy Sitti Maryam, and therefore is properly regarded as a branch of that valley.

The third in importance of the valleys of Jerusalem is the one which begins in the plain north of the Damascus Gate and runs in a southeasterly direction through the heart of the modern city to a point near the southwest angle of the Ḥaram area. Here it is joined by a branch that comes from the Jaffa Gate. It then descends in a southwesterly direction to the Pool of Siloam. Near this it is joined by another small branch that comes from the southwest corner of the city. It then runs in a southeasterly direction until it



Photograph by L. B. Paton

WADY ER-RABÂBI

joins the Wâdy Sitti Maryam. This valley is known at present as El-Wâd, or "The Valley." It is the second main tributary of the Wâdy Sitti Maryam and its continuation the Wâdy en-Nâr.

A fourth valley begins in the plain north of the city midway between Wâdy ej-Joz and El-Wâd, and runs in a southeasterly direction across the northeast corner of the city, joining Wâdy Sitti Maryam at a point east of the Ḥaram area. This has no distinctive modern name. The question now arises: With which of these valleys are the valleys mentioned in the Old Testament to be identified?

1. *The Kidron*.—This is commonly known as the *nahal*, or “watercourse” (in our version translated “brook”). Frequently the name Kidron is omitted, and the valley is described simply as the *nahal*. In Hebrew this term describes a ravine in which water commonly runs. It is not applied to gorges that are filled only in the rainy season. The name, consequently, suggests that we are to identify the Kidron with the Wâdy Sitti Maryam, since this is the only one of the valleys of Jerusalem that has a perennial flow.



Photograph by L. B. Paton

MOUTH OF THE VALLEY EL-WÂD

This identification is confirmed by all the allusions in the Bible. In II Sam. 15:23 we are told that, when David was compelled by Absalom to flee from Jerusalem to the land east of the Jordan, “he passed over the brook Kidron, and all the people passed over toward the way of the wilderness.” In fleeing eastward from Jerusalem, the first valley that one would cross would be the Wâdy Sitti Maryam. The word of Solomon to Shimei in I Kings 2:37, “On the day thou goest out, and passest over the brook Kidron, know thou for certain

that thou shalt surely die: thy blood shall be upon thine own head," also indicates the valley east of the city, since Shimei would naturally pass this way in going to his home (cf. II Sam. 16:5). In I Kings 15:13=II Chron. 15:16 we read: "And also Maacah, the mother of Asa the king, he removed her from being queen, because she had made an abominable image for an Asherah; and Asa cut down her image, and made dust of it, and burnt it at the brook Kidron." The image was evidently set up in the Temple, and if Asa burned it at the brook Kidron, this must have been the Wâdy Sitti Maryam, which runs close to the site of the Temple. In II Kings 23:4, 6, 12, we are told that, when Josiah cleansed the Temple of idolatrous abominations, "he burned them at the brook Kidron and cast the ashes into the brook." This statement implies that the Kidron lay near to the Temple, and the mention of the "brook" favors the identification with the Wâdy Sitti Maryam. In Jer. 31:40 we read: "All the fields unto the brook Kidron, unto the corner of the Horse Gate toward the east shall be holy unto the Lord." The Horse Gate is known to have been an opening in the east wall of the Temple; consequently the brook Kidron, which is here associated with it, must be identical with the Wâdy Sitti Maryam. II Chron. 29:16 states that idolatrous objects found in the Temple were cast into the brook Kidron. II Chron. 32:4 says that Hezekiah "gathered much people together, and they stopped all the fountains, and the brook that flowed through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water?" The statement that the "brook" contained "much water" is applicable only to the Wâdy Sitti Maryam, and the statement that it "flowed through the midst of the land" is also applicable only to this valley. Wâdy er-Rabâbi, as we shall see presently, was the boundary line between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and therefore could not be spoken of as "in the midst of the land." El-Wâd was in the midst of the city, and, besides, there is no evidence that it was a running stream in Old Testament times. In Neh. 2:15 Nehemiah says: "Then went I up in the night by the brook and viewed the wall; and I turned back and entered by the Valley Gate, and so returned." On his night ride Nehemiah set out from a point near the southwest corner of the present city and descended the Wâdy er-Rabâbi until

he came to the Pool of Siloam. Thence he "went up by the brook and viewed the wall." This "brook" can only have been the Wâdy Sitti Maryam close to the east wall of the city. If he had gone up through El-Wâd, he would have been in the heart of the city and could not have viewed the wall. The fact that he returned by the Valley Gate, whence he set out, shows that he made a complete circuit of the city.

In John 18:1 we are told that Jesus "went forth with his disciples over the brook Kidron where there was a garden." The location of the Garden of Gethsemane at some point on the west slope of the mount of Olives east of Jerusalem is undisputed. Consequently the crossing of the brook Kidron to reach this garden is proof that the Kidron is to be identified with the Wâdy Sitti Maryam.

Josephus also identifies the Kidron with this valley. In *Wars* v, 2:3, he says:

These legions had orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the mount called the Mount of Olives, which lies over against the city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley, interposed between them, which is named Kidron.

In *Wars*, v, 6:1, he says:

John held the Temple and also the parts thereto adjoining, for a great way, as also Ophel, and the valley called the Valley of Kidron.

In *Wars*, v, 12:2, he says:

Titus began the wall from the camp of the Assyrians, where his own camp was pitched, and drew it down to the lower parts of the New City: thence went along the valley of Kidron to the Mount of Olives; it then bent toward the south, and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called Peristereon.

In vi, 3:2, he says:

The next day the Romans burnt down the northern cloister entirely as far as the east cloister, whose common angle joined to the valley that was called Kidron, and was built over it; on which account the depth was frightful.

From these statements it is certain that he identified the Kidron with the deep gorge east of the Temple.

It appears, accordingly, that there is an unbroken line of evidence from the earliest times down to the New Testament period identifying the brook Kidron with the ravine east of the Mosque of Omar that

is now known as the Wâdy Sitti Maryam. This is admitted by practically all modern topographers.

2. The valley named most frequently in the Old Testament after the Kidron is the Valley of Hinnom or valley of the son (sons) of Hinnom. In the Old Testament this is always called the *gai*, or "valley," in distinction from the *nahal*, or "brook," of Kidron. A *gai* is a broad, open valley, not necessarily traversed by a running stream. This name in itself suggests that the Hinnom is to be identified with the Wâdy er-Rabâbi, which is more open than Wâdy Sitti Maryam and has no stream flowing through it. All the Old Testament references to the Hinnom favor this identification.

In Josh. 15:8 we read:

And the border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom unto the side of the Jebusite southward (the same is Jerusalem): and the border went up to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the uttermost part of the vale of Rephaim northward.

In Josh. 18:16 the same description is given in a reverse order:

And the border went down to the uttermost part of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of Hinnom, to the side of the Jebusite southward and went down to Enrogel.

From these passages it appears that the Valley of Hinnom was the boundary line between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, that it ran south of a cliff known as the Cliff of the Jebusites, and that it came out at a spring known as Enrogel. The small valley El-Wâd, which runs north and south, is not a natural line between two tribes; while the deep Wâdy er-Rabâbi, which runs east and west, is a natural boundary. By this division the spring Bîr Eiyûb was the property of two tribes—a frequent arrangement in ancient times. It is well known that the city of Jerusalem lay in the tribe of Benjamin. Thus, in Jer. 6:1 we read: "Flee for safety, ye children of Benjamin, out of the midst of Jerusalem." The frequent combination "Judah and Jerusalem" is due to the fact that Jerusalem did not lie in the tribe of Judah. The rabbinical tradition that the boundary line between Judah and Benjamin ran through the heart of the city is unsupported by Old Testament evidence. Jerusalem as early as pre-exilic times probably occupied an area as large as the modern city; consequently, if it lay in the tribe of Benjamin,

the Valley of Hinnom cannot have been El-Wâd, in the heart of the city, but must have been Wâdy er-Rabâbi, on the west and south. The Cliff of the Jebusites is apparently some part of the ancient stronghold of the Jebusites (cf. II Sam. 5:6 f.); and if the Valley of Hinnom ran south of this cliff, it can only be the Wâdy er-Rabâbi, since El-Wâd does not lie south of any cliff that formed part of the ancient city. Moreover, El-Wâd does not run down to any spring. Siloam, where it ends, is an artificial pool to which water was brought by a conduit in Hezekiah's time from the Virgin's Fountain. The only valley, apart from the Kidron, that leads to a fountain is Wâdy er-Rabâbi, which comes out at the spring of Bîr Eiyûb.

There are frequent allusions in the Old Testament to the Valley of Hinnom as the scene of idolatrous rites in which children were sacrificed to the god Molech (cf. II Kings 23:10; Jer. 2:23; 7:31 f; 19:2, 6; 32:35); but none of these serve to fix the location of the valley. If, as is probable, El-Wâd lay in the heart of the ancient city, as of the modern city, it is not so likely that shrines would be set up there as in the Wâdy er-Rabâbi, which was outside of the city. Late Jewish abhorrence of the idolatry practiced in the Valley of Hinnom made the name Ge-Hinnom = Gehenna a synonym for hell.

In Neh. 2:13, Nehemiah goes out by the Valley Gate. This can only have been a gate opening upon the "valley" of Hinnom. The description of his ride down the valley and the gates that he passed makes it impossible to believe that he was riding down El-Wâd. Remains of three ancient gates have been found by Bliss along the southern course of the Wâdy er-Rabâbi which correspond with the Valley Gate, the Dung Gate, and the Fountain Gate of Neh. 2:13 f. If this identification be accepted, it proves that the *gai* down which Nehemiah rode was not El-Wâd, but Wâdy er-Rabâbi.

It may be observed also that the Arabian geographer Idrisi (1154 A. D.) applies the name Gehennam—that is, Ge-Hinnom, or "valley of Hinnom"—to Wâdy er-Rabâbi. In 1838 the American traveler Robinson found this name still attached to it. The identification of Hinnom with Wâdy er-Rabâbi is now accepted by the majority of topographers. W. Robertson Smith first suggested an identification with El-Wâd, and his authority has led a few to adopt this view;

Warren has proposed an identification with the Kidron, but stands alone in this theory.

A few other minor valleys near Jerusalem are mentioned in the Old Testament. The Valley of Rephaim (Josh. 15:8; 18:16) lay on the other side of the hill, west of the Valley of Hinnom, and formed part of the boundary line between Judah and Benjamin. It is doubtless to be identified with the modern Wâdy el-Werd, through which the railway now runs from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Its upper end, near the present Jerusalem railway station, is not far from the upper end of Wâdy er-Rabâbi, so that the two valleys together form a long continuous boundary line. The "valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes" mentioned in Jer. 31:40 is of unknown location. The Valley of Jehoshaphat ("Yahweh judges"), mentioned in Joel 3:12, is probably a place invented as a scene for the final judgment. Its identification with Wâdy Sitti Maryam is not found before the fourth century of the Christian era, and is destitute of authority.

3. The valley called the Tyropoeon is first mentioned by Josephus in *Wars*, v, 4:1. He says:

Now the Valley of the Tyropoeon, as it was called, was that which we told you before separated the hill of the Upper City from that of the Lower. It extended as far as Siloam; for that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet water in it and this in great plenty also.

Since this valley ran through the heart of the city, and since it came out at the Pool of Siloam, there is no question that it is to be identified with some part of the modern El-Wâd. The only dispute is as to which of the branches of El-Wâd is meant.

The common view is that the main branch, which starts north of the Damascus Gate, runs under the Damascus Gate, and follows the modern street El-Wâd west of the Hâram area, is the Tyropoeon of Josephus. This view is favored by the fact that this is the principal valley. In spite of its being filled with sixty feet of débris, the depression is still clearly visible, and if one stands upon the top of the Damascus gate and looks southward, the city evidently lies upon two hills divided by this depression. The people of modern Jerusalem apply to it the name El-Wâd, or "the valley," and they have no names for the smaller lateral valleys that come in from the Jaffa Gate and from the southwest quarter of the city. Ideas are very persistent in the

Orient. If the people of ancient Jerusalem had traced the city valley in a different way, their usage would doubtless have been reflected in the modern conception. It is not too much to say that the northern branch extending from the Damascus Gate is the only valley that one would naturally think of as the Tyropoeon, and that other identifications are due, not to anything in Josephus' description, but rather to traditional notions concerning the hills of Jerusalem.

Robinson first suggested that the Tyropoeon is to be identified with the west branch of the city valley—the one that starts near the Jaffa gate and runs eastward until it joins El-Wâd. This valley corresponds with the line of the present David Street. It is now so filled with rubbish that its existence is hardly apparent, but borings show that in ancient times it must have been considerably deeper. Nevertheless, even then it must have been an inconsiderable depression in comparison with the one that starts north of the Damascus Gate, and it is not likely that it was ever so important as to have had a name of its own. Robinson himself confessed that the northern arm at first impressed him as the real Tyropoeon, and that it was only considerations in regard to the location of Zion and Akra that forced him to make a different identification. These considerations have subsequently shown themselves to be erroneous, so that no reason now exists for identifying the Tyropoeon with the west branch of the city valley.

A third theory, first presented by Tobler and since taken up by Mommert, is that the Tyropoeon is the little valley which starts in the center of the southwest corner of the city and runs in a southeasterly direction until it joins El-Wâd south of the city wall. This view is open to all the objections that have been raised against Robinson's theory. This valley is an insignificant branch of the main gorge that runs through the heart of the city. It bears no name in modern times, and it is unlikely that Josephus would have singled it out as a landmark around which to group the hills of Jerusalem.

THE TRUE AND PERMANENT SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

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It is the boast of present-day biblical science that it employs the comparative and historical method. If a particular subject of investigation is examined on all sides for itself only, it is, nevertheless, approached under the bright light of *comparative* considerations, and even if the peculiarity of the phenomenon is established, inquiry is still made concerning its *historical* connection. This comparative and historico-genetic procedure is, to be sure, by no means as new as one, in the pride of the progress of modern science, might easily suppose. No, the *comparative* method in the realm of religious inquiry shows itself in Ex. 15:11, "Who is like unto thee, O Jehovah, among the gods?" or in the words of Jeremiah (2:10-13), "Pass over to the isle of Kittim [Cyprus] and see if there hath been such a thing." Moreover, the pointing-out of the *historical* connection of a fact is at least as old as the words in Josh. 24:2 f.: "your fathers dwelt of old time beyond the great river [i. e., the Euphrates] . . . and I took your father Abraham and led him throughout all the land of Canaan." Thus the comparative and historical method of modern science is *not her own peculiar discovery*, as many a one of her disciples so easily thinks, nor was the vision of antiquity as limited (as the facts just mentioned indicate) as we children of the new time are so prone to suppose. To be sure, we must, on the other hand, freely acknowledge that it is only in present-day science that the employment of both the above-mentioned methods attains maturity. But now do we through this new comparative and historico-genetic procedure obtain *genuinely authentic* results? This is quite another question, and one which has recently become especially living and prominent. In the so-called *Babel-Bibel* controversy¹ the assertion was made that "Jesus founded a genuinely new religion." Thus in a noteworthy manner the ques-

¹ Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel*, Vol. III., p. 48. See in general my conclusive answer in *Die babylonische Gefangenschaft der Bibel* (Stuttgart: Kiehlmann, 1905; \$0.30).

tion is raised how the Old Testament religious history is related to the work of Jesus of Nazareth. This question I attempt to answer comprehensively yet simply in the following. I think the clearest way to answer it is to unfold the historico-religious significance of the Old Testament, and then seek to show how this led on and up to the work of Jesus.

The old Hebrew literature possesses, indeed, more than one kind of significance for human culture. With respect to *form* this literature possesses, first of all, value for the history of language. This collection of books illumines a long and important stretch of linguistic history. It furnishes us living signs of a chief branch of the Semitic bough on the stem of inflectional languages. These living traces reach far back into antiquity and arise out of a much earlier time than, e. g., the Arabic branch of Semitic speech. To the historico-linguistic importance of the thirty-nine writings called the Old Testament another formal significance is closely joined, viz., the historico-literary. But how? Should it not be of interest to the historian of comparative literature as a companion of other old literatures—e. g., the Indian or Arabic? Should not this little library awaken a lively cultural interest as to the manner of its composition? It is indeed just now a burning question how far the province of poetry reaches in the old Hebrew literature. Who should not be interested in the question whether rhetorical and philosophical writings are to be found in the Old Hebrew library?

This writing possesses further, with respect to its *content*, a high value for *profane* history. Who can overlook the fact that the old Hebrew writings are a source of very first rank for ancient geography, for ethnology, and for the political life of ancient humanity? In fact, a short time since, in a highly learned assembly, it was strongly emphasized that the Old Testament literature was the first of all to express the idea of a universal history, and in its chronology to present also the ground plan for a general history of mankind. At the last general session of the International Oriental Congress, at Hamburg, the well-known Professor Adalbert Merx, of Heidelberg, declared, with fullest warrant, that "the first presupposition of the idea of universal history is the thought of the unity of mankind and its unitary movement toward a definite goal. Both thoughts arise out of the Old

Testament. That which was already conceived by the earliest prophets comes to expression in the development of Greek thought for the first time shortly before the first Christian century, in the writing *De mundo* ascribed to Aristotle."² But in the threefold value of the Old Testament which I have thus far pointed out—the linguistic, the literary, and the profane historical—its significance is by no means exhausted. One must, in fact, say more. If one take the expression in its peculiar and proper sense, according to which it, by a recognized metonymy, represents the documents of the pre-Christian covenant between God and man, then the Old Testament has significance only for the history of religion or salvation. Its value resides only in the fact that it records the history of the first stage of the covenant between God and humanity.

But in what particulars does this significance of the Old Testament for the history of salvation consist?

1. It lies, first of all, in my judgment, in this, that the Old Testament records the originating causes and the epoch-making importance of the true religion of pre-Christian time, and thus discloses the foundation of the edifice which is completed in the New Testament. The Old Testament records first of all, of necessity, that God founded within his kingdom of nature a colony of the true religion. When, that is to say, the selfishness and world-deification of that humanity which was saved from the punishment of the flood had reached such a titanic height, as is illustrated to us in the building of the tower of Babel, there entered into human history that foreseen but not forewilled moment when God in the call of Abraham inaugurated a new kind of relation with the human race. This, as I firmly believe, real union of the divine sphere with humanity is expressed elsewhere in the Old Testament under different pictures. It is spoken of as a relation of father and children (Ex. 4:22, "Israel is my first-born;" Hos. 11:1, "when Israel was a child," etc; Isa. 1:3, "I have brought up children," etc). This union is also, on account of its innerness, conceived under the picture of a marriage of Jehovah with the nation Israel (Ex. 34:16, harlotry; Isa. 50:1, "where is the bill of divorcement of your mother," etc); also of a shepherd and his flock (Ps. 23), of a

² *Verhandlungen des XIII. Internationalen Orientalistenkongresses*, veröffentlicht 1904, pp. 195 f.

vine-dresser and vineyard (Isa., chap. 5); but especially under the image of a king and his kingdom. Everyone knows the words of Ex. 19: 5 f.: "If ye will obey my voice indeed . . . ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests." Therefore, from the point of view to which we have now come in our discussion, we may express it thus: The significance of the Old Testament for the history of salvation consists first in this, that it narrates the occasion of the founding of a special kingdom of God. Oh, the impiety of man—the disobedience, the selfishness, the sensuality and indolence, these moments of carnality—which occasioned the founding of this kingdom! Thanks to thee, thou fervent grace of God, that brought to completion the plan to make possible to man freedom from the guilt and bondage of sin!

How unspeakably important, then, is the Old Testament, because it records the beginnings, the originating causes and first stages, of the history of the kingdom of grace. We all know what an unsatisfying impression a torso makes on a beholder. Who does not recall in art "The Dying Gaul?" The history of salvation would resemble a torso without feet, if we were deprived of the Old Testament. Or let one imagine for himself the task of relating the history of the United States beginning with the time of Washington and Benjamin Franklin. How the presuppositions for their work would be wanting! Such a chasm would also yawn before the inquiring spirit if the links intervening between the call of Abraham and the advent of Christ were lacking. The latter would propose as his task to fulfil the law, and yet to us the law would be unknown. Christ would say to the two disciples on the way to Emmaus: "O fools and slow of heart to believe all that which the prophets have spoken" (Luke 24:25 f.); but the history of the promises would not be known to us. These remarks are in our time in no wise superfluous. For many people would gladly execute the eviction warrant against the Bible, which they think they carry in their pocket, first on the Old Testament.

2. Thus it has briefly been indicated that the Old Testament first of all brings to view the originating causes, the epoch-making importance, and the first period of the true kingdom of God. Its significance for the history of salvation consists, secondly, in this, that it sets forth the fundamental character and tendency of this true kingdom of God. This divine kingdom of grace possesses this characteristic,

viz., that its founding coincided with the call into a land. A second characteristic is that its citizens virtually came from a single nation. In the third place, it is characterized by the fact that the duties of its subjects are indicated in a number of particular ordinances. However, the chief peculiarity of the kingdom dating from the call of Abraham lies in the character of the development which it carries within itself.

This shows itself in the legislative foundation of the Old Testament kingdom of God. To the fundamental law, the Ten Commandments (Ex. 20:2-17), further developments are constantly being added. First, the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 20:22-23:33), according to whose supposition the covenant was sealed through sacrifice; then, after the first disruption of the covenant which was precipitated by the worship of the golden calf, a second Book of the Covenant (Ex. 34:10-26), etc.; also the interpretation of the law which Moses gave in his farewell address (Deut. 1:5 ff.). This progressive particularizing of the law throws some light on what is in itself a rather obscure matter, viz., the fact, as Paul indicates (Rom. 5:20), that the law should serve *to increase sin*. This is to say that the law serves as the guilt-register of Israel—and of humanity—and by so much as it is rich in details, by so much more is the heart of Israel—and humanity—impressed with the consciousness of guilt and the need for expiation.

At the same time the ordinances of the covenant were transferred from the outer soil of human conduct to the inner, from the sphere of the body to that of the soul. For, while in the Pentateuch fasting, e. g., consists in abstinence from food and drink (Ex. 34:28) or in the castigation of the body (Lev. 16:29), the prophet says (Isa. 58:5-7): "Is such the fast that I have chosen? the day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a rush? . . . Is not this the fast that I have chosen: to loose the bonds of wickedness . . . to deal thy bread to the hungry," etc.? Or, e. g., for the solemn moment of the law-giving on Sinai it is commanded to appear in pure garments, thus demanding outer preparation and aesthetic beauty. But nothing of the kind is mentioned in the similar situations in II Kings, chap. 23, and Neh., chap. 8, and the prophet Joel calls to his people (2:13): "Rend your hearts and not your garments."

In accordance with this development of the divine law-giving, and

through this spiritualizing of the demands of the covenant, the moral feeling of the citizens of the kingdom should become refined, their conscience become more sensitive, and thereby their *desire for salvation be greatly deepened*. Thus the law would always be a tutor unto Christ (Gal. 3:24). The character of development which the kingdom that began with the call of Abraham carries within itself, includes as a fundamental tendency the *striving after its own consummation*.

The peculiarity of the Old Testament, that it, so to speak, looks to the mountain-tops, has first a clear *formal* indication in the joining of the Old Testament kingdom of God with prophetism. Not only Moses pointed out that his prophetic office would always possess a champion in Israel (Deut. 18:15), but also Jeremiah bears witness, in a very significant passage, that, since the emancipation of Israel from the Egyptian bondage, God had not ceased to send prophets who were his servants (Jer. 7:25). Indeed, it is a very noteworthy phenomenon in the life of ancient nations which is presented to our view in prophecy. There is, now, an external circumstance connected with this historical phenomenon which is altogether striking, and yet is not sufficiently valued. This is the fact that new champions of prophecy constantly arise without *any one of them depending upon the others*. Each one knows that he is directly dependent upon the center of the divine kingdom, and that he is commissioned by its Ruler. The yearning of the divine kingdom of the Old Testament for that which is beyond possesses also some *material* traces in the old Hebrew literature. Such a trace is especially seen in the chasm between the *ideal* and the *actual* which is noticed in more than one reference to the kingdom. This chasm shows itself for example in the relation of the kingdom of God to earthly spheres.

To be sure, the first citizen of this kingdom is led to a definite land, but it is an interesting fact that in the narrative of the patriarchs the first and only abiding element of their possession was a burial cave. Five times in Genesis this burial cave is mentioned as at Hebron (23:17; 25:19; 35:27; 49:30; 50:13). What a significant indication of the *actual* relation which exists between the special divine kingdom and the earth! The citizens of the kingdom of grace are, in *truth*, connected with the earth only through the grave. This idea

that the kingdom of God is not an earthly one shines forth from the significant words concerning Israel as a kingdom of priests (Ex. 19:5 f.). The same recognition of the heavenly king of Israel is reflected in Gideon's refusal to assume princely authority over Israel (Judg. 8:23). In a later time, to be sure, the divine patience permitted the human kingdom (I Sam. 8:7-9), and the goodness of God supported David and other kings in the overthrow of enemies. But in the period of the great world-kingsdoms of interior Asia the relation of the kingdom of God to them is placed in yet clearer light. The divine kingdom of grace must not attempt to rival the human kingdoms in the accumulation of earthly means of power (as implements of war, Zech. 9:10) and in the desire for earthly ends. Rather, for the citizens of the kingdom of God is this the ruling principle: "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength" (Isa. 30:15). Further, the throne of David was destroyed during the exile and was not again rebuilt. From all these traces one could understand whither the relation of the kingdom of God and earthly spheres tended.

The fundamental tendency of the Old Testament to move out beyond itself is reflected also in the following series of propositions concerning it.

The eye of prophecy was more and more opened to see the super-human equipment of the future Lord of the kingdom of God. Without doubt the glory of the Davidic origin of the future king waned (Isa. 11:1; Mic. 5:1), and, later, allusion to the Davidic family as the source of this Lord receded (cf. Isa. 55:3-5), and in the Book of Malachi is wholly wanting. But all the more was the divine side of his endowment elucidated (Isa. 7:14; 8:10; 9:6 f.; 11:2), and his intimacy with God pointed out (cf. Zech. 12:10, but especially Mal. 3:1).

At the same time the office and work of the mediator of the consummation of the kingdom of God were more fully set forth. For the one whom an earlier time described as a star (Num. 24:17), or a prophet like Moses (Deut. 18:15), or a king (II Sam. 7:11-16), was now called a priest (Ps. 110:4; Zech. 6:13). The prophets even more clearly indicated the suffering of the future Savior. The clearest traces of this particularly noteworthy element of the content of Old Testament prophecy is to be found in the following passages. In Isa. 11:1 and Mic. 5:1 it is said that the scion of the

Davidic house is to be a participator in the catastrophes which must be visited on this house. He arises not out of the top but out of the root of the tree with which the family of Jesse is compared (Isa. 11:1), and he is to be born, not in the residence city of Jerusalem, but in the little town of Bethlehem, the home of Jesse, the father of the family (Mic. 5:1). Further, in Zech. 9:9 the coming king is characterized as one who makes his entrance in lowly fashion upon the animal of peace. Finally, in Isa. 53:2 ff. there is drawn for us a pathetic picture of the lamb which is led to the slaughter for the sin and guilt of others, and yet not once opens its mouth. It is also proclaimed by the prophets that only the removal of the guilt of man can prepare the soil upon which the pillar of the arch of peace between God and man is to be erected (Mic. 7:19; Jer. 31:34 *b*; Ezek. 36:25).

A fourth essential feature of the lofty picture of God's special kingdom which is drawn for us in the Old Testament is the increasingly urgent and clear invitation extended to all nations to enter the kingdom of God. This goal, to be sure, was not unknown earlier (Gen. 3:15; 12:3 *b*; Isa. 2:2-4; Mic. 4:1-3, etc.; Zech. 8:23), but the promise is nowhere expressed with greater clearness than in the word of Mal. 1:11, "From the rising of the sun to the going down of the same my name shall be great among the gentiles."

Finally, the striving of the Old Testament for a higher goal is most clearly shown in this, viz., that a prophet of the old covenant received the mission to be the herald of a new covenant. This was Jeremiah; and who does not remember the wondrous words found in 31:31-34 of his book? "Behold the days come," runs the message of the Eternal, "that I will make a *new* covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers . . . but this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel, saith Jehovah: I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it, and I will be their God and they shall be my people." The prophet Ezekiel also dared to promise an inner renewal of Israel (36:25-27). How clearly one sees here the disclosure of the ever new and compassionate love of God! Once God required of man that he fulfil an externally prescribed law, and that he be induced to be true to his covenant by a minor act of mercy such as the deliverance from Egypt was. It

was man's fault that this was nullified. Then God exhibited greater benevolence in leading them back from Babylonian exile, in order to arouse their hearts to repentance and gratitude.

The second fundamental element in the significance of the Old Testament consists then, in this, that, to use an expression recently preserved from another side,³ it characterizes the Old Testament religion as "the religion of hope."

3. But now the history of salvation consists, not merely in the history of the proffer of salvation, but also in the history of its acceptance. What fervent gratitude springs up in our hearts that God permits us to have a share in the weaving of this history of salvation! But is it not also a matter of deep regret that the divine patience is so often provoked by man—in fact, is exhausted? Beside the seven thousand—i. e., the small group of the faithful who, in the critical struggle between Jehovah and Canaanitish idolatry, bowed not the knee to Baal—stand the thousands who went astray and joined themselves to the sinful and sensual cult of the sun and of Venus (i. e., Astarte). The divine patience came to an end for the northern kingdom in 722, and for the southern in 586. As the holiness of God, as over against his mercy, was under the necessity of asserting itself, partly in the Assyrian and partly in the Babylonian exile, righteousness accordingly remains, and is seen to be, the fundamental law of history. The irreverence on the part of Israel for Jehovah her Savior was finally after so long a time burned out, and her inclination to sensual ideals was destroyed.

But the Old Testament records traces of the fidelity of the pre-Christian covenant people as well as proofs of its unfaithfulness. It thus performs a third service for the knowledge of the history of salvation. It also tells us how the covenant demands and covenant promises were worked out in the life partly of particular individuals and partly of the people as a whole, and thus affords a rich collection of attractive, hortatory, and admonitory examples. Let us at least take a glance into this rich picture gallery.

Who can but admire the hearty spirit with which Abraham obeyed the divine impulse to become the founder of a new group in humanity in a distant land? Who does not recognize as entirely

³ Wernle, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, 2d ed. (1905), p. 5.

praiseworthy that expression of his unselfishness and considerateness, "If thou take the right hand, then will I go to the left" (Gen. 13:9)? Who can look long enough on the touching picture which is exhibited in Abraham's intercession for Sodom and Gomorrah? How often has pride been humbled by Jacob's declaration, "I am not worthy of the least of all thy loving-kindnesses, and of all the truth, which thou hast showed unto thy servant," etc.? And how many struggling souls have been strengthened and encouraged by the bold statement, "I will not let thee go, except thou bless me" (Gen. 32:26)? Who can number the times that Joseph's indignant question, "how can I do this great wickedness and sin against God?" has given virtue an arm of steel in the battle against lust? Nor can we forget Deborah, wife of Lappidoth, how with inspiring summons and energetic march she won back for her people that political independence which is the foundation of worthy and prosperous existence; nor how as leader she counteracted the inner dissension which so easily consumes the vitals of a people. She is a figure of towering importance among the women of the Old Testament who combine the office of priestess of right with Vestal service at the altar-fires of religion. There is further the band of those who at one time fanned the love of fatherland to a glow, and again in critical moments adorned their whole life by means of their shrewd, calm, or earnest admonitory wisdom. Among these is seen the pale figure of Eli's daughter-in-law, who, because she feared for the capture of the ark of the covenant and the death of her husband, gave premature birth to her child and could find no name for it but Dishonor (I Sam. 4:21 f.). Here also is found the wise woman of Abel who was the means of saving her city (II Sam. 20:16 f.). No one, of course, forgets Ruth; but do we remember Rizpah? Along with the lovely example of childlike piety, there is the glorious heroine of self-sacrificing mother-love. It is certainly true that it is only with great effort one tears himself away from the picture gallery of great personalities in whose lives the Old Testament says so plainly to us that the best root and motive power for moral conduct is a firm religious faith.

So, then, it would be difficult to find a book which exhibited as clearly as the Old Testament, in reference to the destiny of a nation,

the truth of the proposition that "sin is a reproach to any people" (Prov. 14:34). Indeed, in the history of the nation Israel there stands firmly rooted together, on the one side, religious faith with national prosperity, and, on the other side, religious unfaithfulness with moral sluggishness, political corruption and national misfortune. Recall, for example, the time of the judges.

Thus, the third service which the Old Testament contributes to the knowledge of the history of salvation is a precious and highly significant one. This living representation which it gives of the acceptance of the divine salvation by man, or his rejection of it and the consequences, is a very important element in the permanent significance of the Old Testament.

4. Finally, the true significance of the Old Testament consists also in the fact that its content is not without historical result. The stream of religious history which flows along through the Old Testament is *no development without end*. It had not the destiny of many streams of the desert which are lost in the sand. This stream empties into a sea—the sea of eternal grace, and so bears witness to the character of its origin. God has acknowledged the promises of the Old Testament prophets as his own.

But has God really done so? The affirmative answer is bound up with the Old Testament itself. This answer can be reached by a comparison of the Old and New Testaments. Since this is the case, it will here be unfolded.

A comparison of the prophetic perspective with the work of Christ results, in the first place, in showing that the latter in no wise corresponds with the former in any mechanical fashion. For, as was indicated above, the relation of the special kingdom of God to the earthly sphere was evermore pointed out as a negative one, both by the declarations of the prophets and by the course of Israel's history. The relation of the kingdom of grace to a definite land was interlocked with the advance of prophecy and the history of Israel. But is it uniformly and explicitly declared in prophecy that the divine kingdom of grace shall later not be bound up with earthly territory, and especially shall not be of an earthly character? Yet Christ in a solemn moment declared simply and very clearly: "My kingdom is not of this world" (John 18:36). The prophets' eyes were, to be sure,

in the second place, more and more opened to see the superhuman equipment of the future Lord of the true kingdom of God. But how high the reality towers above the promise in this respect also! How the words, "All things have been delivered unto me of my Father," etc.; or, "I and my Father are one;" or, "God was in Christ and was reconciling the world unto himself" (II Cor. 5:21); or "Son of God with power since (*sic*) the resurrection of the dead" (Rom. 1:4), accordingly sound like songs of the heavenly choir!

Thirdly, the representation of the office and work of the future Savior was ever more fully unfolded by the prophets. But when Christ appeared it was as the divine-human high-priest who by means of his own death offered a ransom for the sin and guilt of the world (Matt. 16:28) and obtained eternal redemption (Heb. 9:12). Fourthly, while in prophecy the picture of the suffering Savior stood alongside that of the ruling son of David, Jesus, with an energetic "Get thee behind me, Satan" (Matt. 4:10; cf. 16:23), put away the glorious pictures which would have led him into the path of external glory, and at the same time illumined the sanguinary picture of the suffering Messiah with heavenly light. Fifthly, as the demonstration of God's grace which was promised in Jeremiah's words concerning the new covenant had not been realized, the sacrifice of God's Son was brought to pass in order to rouse the human heart to repentance, and to inflame it with gratitude.

Accordingly, it is a well-established fact that the Old Testament period of promise and expectation came to a close with Jesus, and was thus seen to be the beginning stage of a higher development. For Jesus not only said in Nazareth, after reading Isa. 61:1 f., "This day hath the scripture been fulfilled in your ears" (i. e., by myself who stand and speak before you); not merely announced to the period of prophecy, "Thus far and no farther;" but in the work of Jesus, according to uniform opinion, the highest expressions of prophecy were unified into a collective whole, an organism. Indeed, in Jesus Christ the highest peaks of prophecy are suffused with a golden light of a supernatural character.

Yes, prophecy is like the rosy dawn. It announces the future of salvation just as certainly as the dawn kisses the sun that she may hasten on before as his herald. Also the soft glimmer of the morning

dawn prepares the eye for the glorious light of day, and gives delight by anticipation to the sick hearts which yearn for the day. But the rosy red of morning is not the radiant beauty of day. Aurora pales when the king of day comes on in flaming power. So Christ was like a rising sun in the Old Testament period of the kingdom of God; but since the New Testament period he is the splendid noon-day sun in the kingdom of grace.

Precisely the non-mechanical organic manner in which the Old Testament is related to the New comprises the central point of the significance of the Old Testament and its divine consummation. This is capable of proof by means of a negative consideration. Let us suppose that the picture of the person and work of Christ which is delineated in the gospels corresponded quite uniformly with the lines in which the future Savior and his deeds are described in the Old Testament; let us further suppose that the time of the advent of Christ could be reckoned from the Old Testament: what would be the result if in the Old Testament everything were predicted exactly as it exists in the New Testament? From such a uniform agreement of the Old Testament expectation with the New Testament actuality one could conclude that Jesus got the thought of setting himself up as Messiah from the Old Testament; that he buried himself in the predictions of the prophets and reckoned up the time when the Messiah should appear, and the thought that he could fulfil the promises. What a dangerous weapon against Christianity would thus be placed in man's hand! But the relation between the prophetic message and Jesus' person and work *in reality* is thus qualified, viz., that prophecy resembles a flower which, under the beams of divine grace and wisdom, ever more fully unfolds and yet is surpassed by the fruit. Men could not, therefore, pronounce this adverse judgment concerning the origin of Jesus' messianic consciousness, and his self-estimate for the history of salvation. God be praised that he has deprived the unbelieving of our time of this objection against Christ! Let us not therefore mourn that the bridge between the Old and New Testament is not complete. Let us rather in reference thereto join in the words of the apostle: "O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God!"

The center of the significance of the Old Testament consists,

therefore, in this, that it was planned as the preparation of a higher stage of communion with God. Must God then, on account of this plan, still maintain it? Now, that is to say: the unfolding of salvation *had to* advance. For God possessed the right according to his wisdom to follow a plan for the drawing of the citizens of the kingdom of God from outer to inner, from lower to higher. The divine grace *was* indeed compelled to present ever richer proofs of itself in order to attract men through ever greater deeds. It must expiate human guilt with ever heavier sacrifices in order to satisfy holiness, because righteousness must remain the fundamental law of the world's history (Rom. 3:26). Finally, this upward rising course of the history of salvation is expressed in the New Testament in explicit terms. Did not Paul once speak of "shadow of things to come?" Yes, he also says: "Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of a feast-day or a new moon or a sabbath day: *which are a shadow of the things to come*; but the body is Christ's" (Col. 2:16 f.). Thus the institutions of the pre-Christian kingdom of God are designated as a shadow-mantle of the body of light of Christ.

Now, who has not many a time noticed a flame with a somewhat darker outer portion and a brighter center? Everyone knows that the eye can easily look upon the outer mantle of the inner brightness. But by means of attention to this the eye is strengthened so that it can finally gaze upon the flame in the center. See in this a picture of the character and vocation of the Old Testament. It is the outer and coarser mantle of the flame of divine salvation itself. May our eye also through intense consideration of this mantle be so disciplined that it will ever become more skilled to recognize the inner center of the flame of divine light!

THE MESSAGE OF GREEK RELIGION TO CHRISTIANITY TODAY

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1. In considering any question connected with Greek religion two misconceptions are met at the outset, which must be dealt with before any correct results can be reached: the conception that Greek religion was identical with Greek mythology, and the conception that, in so far as worship existed, it was the worship of beauty. It is due to the later developments of Greek philosophy, as much as to any other one cause, that the Christian church has laid so much emphasis on the speculative statement of belief—that is, on creeds. The Jewish religion taught: “Thou shalt *have* no other gods before me;” the nature of God comes out in psalm and prophet’s sermon, not in any set creed. And if we turn to the religions of other peoples, it is only in India that we find much insistence on speculative dogma as to the nature of God and man’s relation to God. In the study of some of these religions the preconception that there must have been some definite dogma such as today is stated in creeds, works no harm, for nothing of the sort is to be found; in the case of Greece, however, the student, who has been brought in contact with Greek mythology from the beginning of his study of any literature, all but inevitably fixes on this mythology as the dogmatic statement of Greek belief. That mythology is reduced to a unified form only in modern hand-books he learns but slowly. That the myth never was a dogma, in the modern sense of the term, he may never fully realize.

If one is to ask seriously, “What is Greek religion and its message to Christianity today?” his first task is to get back to the standpoint of the first commandment. He must turn his back on those fascinating pictures of the Olympian world which have inspired so much of later poetry, and fix his thought on the practices of worship and the beliefs which they implied. He may or may not later be able to understand how the Greeks could devoutly worship their gods, and at the

same time listen with composure and satisfaction to tales in which these gods are pictured almost like genii of the *Arabian Nights*. Apollo and Ares fighting on the Trojan plain, Zeus indulging in amours with mortal women whom Hera pursues with relentless jealousy, gods almost deceived by the banquet of human flesh which Tantalus set before them—such were not the objects of Greek worship and religious belief. However much belief in the gods may have been universalized and humanized by mythology, religion always remained something apart from the poetic stories of myth.

“To have a god” for the Greeks meant to worship him with regularity and devotion; to recognize his watchful care on the one hand, or the manifestation of his anger on the other hand, in the experiences of daily life; to seek his guidance for the future. It was assumed that a god felt, and thought, and acted much as did a man. Ideals of right and beauty were perhaps unconsciously assigned to the gods. But as for anything that we should term speculative dogma, it was quite absent from Greek religion. So long as men paid the gods their due, everyone was free to think of the gods as he chose. Perhaps there never was a people with any degree of culture whose religious development was more free and untrammelled. At a festival of Asclepius one might be a scoffer, one an implicit believer in the god’s power to heal, many indifferent to anything except the custom of the city or the meat distributed at the sacrifice; it made little difference so long as the worship went on undisturbed. Mythology is not creed, nor did anything else take the place of our creeds.

2. And it is a misconception to speak of Greek religion as primarily a worship of beauty, just as it would be a misconception to call Christianity a worship of truth or of righteousness. The Greeks did indeed lay a different emphasis from ours on these ideals. It was impossible that their gods should be other than beautiful, else they would be imperfect beings, unfitted to receive the worship of Greeks. On the one hand these residents of Olympus inspired the Greek artist to his best work, on the other hand they were brought nearer to mankind by means of the stone or bronze image; but neither art nor religion limited each other. The beauty of a divine image was never the measure of its sacredness. In the gods themselves beauty was but a part of that ideal nature which was felt to be divine; its importance

was not so much that beauty called forth the admiration of the worshiper, as that it helped to make the gods human without being less divine, and to develop a connection, vital and growing, between the worshiper and his god. The insistence on any human ideal in the divine nature, like the ideal of beauty, means that the gods will rise to a higher plane as the worshipers make progress. The beauty of these divine beings does not need to be formulated in creeds for men to acknowledge its power. It is this phase of the ideal rather than any other which may give to gods a definite place in the physical world and in the social world. Greek gods could not but be beautiful, though the worship of their beauty was only a minor factor in religion.

3. The beautiful human forms of the Greek gods were but one expression for their essentially human nature. "From one mother both (gods and men) have life and breath," is Pindar's phrase for the humanness of the gods and the divineness of man. The gods of other peoples were often vague spirits, more dreaded than the Greek gods, perhaps more lofty because they were more abstract; or again they stood for the tremendous forces at work in the physical world, or they made their home in concrete objects of nature; no other gods stood in such close sympathy with man. In general, the Greek gods differed from man only in degree. Human faults and human weakness, human passions, as well as human greatness and man's noblest ideals, found in these gods their highest expression. The great families of Greece claimed descent from the gods; scarcely a myth but what told of the relations of gods and men; as the gods became less vague and more truly gods, it was the human element in their nature which ever received new emphasis.

It is difficult to understand how modern interpreters of Greek myths should have been misled by the allegories of later philosophers into the view that the Greeks were nature-worshippers. No people has so completely turned from the worship of things to the worship of humanity in its gods. Apollo was never so closely identified with the sun, nor Zeus with the sky, nor even Gaia with the earth, as to obscure in any degree their essentially human character. Aphrodite, the goddess of love, Athena, the goddess of wisdom, Hephaestus, the divine smith, are not more human than, for example, Demeter, the grain goddess. It is in Demeter herself that one finds

the best example of the mother's love, sorrowing but finally triumphant. Leto is the mother proud of her divine children; Hera, the queenly wife; Persephone, the gentle daughter; Artemis, the maiden loving wild nature; each stands out a personality because she personifies so clearly some human relation.

Greek worship is no less human than the Greek gods. That the symposium after the banquet should begin and end with prayers; that the chief function of religion should be no painful rite, no long and tedious service, no task of the intellect, but a joyous feast on sacrificed flesh; that comedy and tragedy should develop in connection with the worship of Dionysus; that art should be so human in its service of the gods; that even gymnastic contests and horse-racing should come within the pale of religion—all this is so far from our conception of divine worship as to puzzle and confuse the student. The key to this puzzle is simply that every side of man found expression in a human religion. Political assemblies began with worship that was no empty form; for the god cared for the state just as did its citizens. Marriage and the bringing-up of children was at every point under the protection of the gods. Needing bread or wine, men worshiped Demeter and Dionysus; needing health, Asclepius; needing protection for their flocks, Apollo or Hermes or Pan. For a knowledge of the future they could consult the oracles. With the thought of death before them, they listened to the invitation of the mysteries where they might obtain the blessing of the queen of the dead. It is universally true that religion arises to meet human need; but nowhere is this need so widely met, and met in so purely human a manner, as here. It was reserved for another people to work out the problem of sin and forgiveness, but it was in Greece that the problem of the essential unity of the divine and human nature was worked out for the universal history of religion.

4. Because the Greek gods were so intensely human, the intellectual element in Greek religion was dominant. This intellectual side does not manifest itself in speculative dogma, to be sure, until the decay of Greek civilization, but it is present both in the conception of the gods and in the conception of worship. The Greeks to whom Homer sang, no less than the Athenians in the age of Pericles, were an intellectual people, whose view of life was essentially reasonable;

their keen insight laid firm hold of certain great principles of life, and they could shut their eyes to what did not fit into their reasonable scheme of the universe. The clear brightness and serenity of the Olympian world reflects this Greek view of life. The Olympian gods were not, indeed, all of Greek religion; weird spirits and mystic rites to avert or control these spirits, fanaticism, superstition, were never unknown in Greece, but just as the Greek in daily life could turn his back on all that was not reasonable in the world, so the irrational elements of religion found little or no place in the official worship of the Olympian gods.

The Greek view of life starts with the belief that the physical and the human world are controlled by all-powerful divine beings. Reasonable gods make the world reasonable. Their rule is wise and just, and on the whole kindly disposed to man. In particular each city, if not each family, has its divine protector, a special advocate among the gods; so long as he is not unduly neglected or offended by some affront, his power is graciously exercised for the good of his client. Parallel with this belief is the conception that each phase of human activity has its divine patron. Thus the Greeks embodied their philosophy of the world in the Olympian gods—a comfortable philosophy which made the world seem wholly reasonable; nor were any creeds necessary, for in the personality of the gods this view of life found adequate expression.

In the study of Greek worship the very first fact to attract attention is that all ritual falls into two groups. the official ritual of the Olympian gods, and a multitude of other rites which commonly are performed to other spirits in particular localities. Everywhere in Greece were found ancient rites to peculiar local spirits, a substratum of the later religion; the official religion of the state was modified by these rites, and it was modified also by that strange revival of religion which swept over Greece in the name of Dionysus in the seventh and sixth centuries B. C.; yet the normal type of worship corresponded closely to the nature of the Olympian gods. A human king would be honored by processions and gifts and public banquets. Worship was reduced to this purely rational form. Votive offerings were dedicated in the temples of the gods, processions were held in their honor, and at the sacrificial banquets the worshippers shared a

feast at which the god presided. This very simple principle—that the world was governed by kindly Olympian rulers—served as a rational principle for religion and for daily life.

5. Such is the influence of Greek mythology on our thought of the gods that it is difficult to realize the local nature of Greek worship. Two related facts are here involved: (1) the worship of any one god—e. g., Athena—is never quite the same at any two points; and (2) the cults of different gods in any one city are practically independent of each other. The first is the question of separatism as applied to locality, the second is the same question as applied to time and the calendar.

The local character of the gods in worship is a fundamental fact of Greek religion. In myth it is the same Athena who is honored in Thessaly and Boeotia and in Attica; in worship the maiden-goddess of the Athenian acropolis is wholly independent of the water-goddess of Alalcomenae and the Itonian war-goddess. Artemis, the goddess of the hunt at Agrae south of the acropolis, is not the same as the Brauronian Artemis on the acropolis, whom young women worshiped before marriage, and she in turn is different from Artemis Hecate, at the entrance of the acropolis, and from Artemis Boulaia, goddess of political wisdom, whose shrine was in the market-place. Even Zeus was worshiped under different aspects—a god of winter storms at Athens, a god of sun and rain on Mount Lycaeus, the divine ruler of all Greece at Olympia. It would seem that the wider relations of any god were forgotten in each particular worship, obscured by the fundamental fact that this local form of the god was the special patron of the worshipers who gathered at that one shrine. This same intimate relation between a particular phase of the divinity and his worshipers reappears in later Europe in the special worship of different forms of the Madonna. “Our Lady of Mount Carmel” is patron of the Carmelite monks; “Our Lady of Mercy,” of the Order of Mercy; “Our Lady of Victory” was worshiped in Florence; we even find a special form of the Madonna worshiped in a particular family. In these cases, as in the Greek local cults, the relation of the divinity to his worshipers is peculiar and intimate; moreover, this relation is reinforced by the place of worship and its sacred traditions.

Along with this independence of the local shrine from foreign

influence there appears a striking independence from the influence of neighboring shrines. Each god or goddess is treated as if no other gods existed; in a sense the different centers of worship at Athens are mutually exclusive, while they exist amicably side by side. When, for example, Dionysus was being worshiped, Athena and Artemis and Poseidon may have been mentioned in the prayers; at some festivals other gods than the one worshiped were invited to share the repast; nevertheless, the worshiper's attention was concentrated for the time being on one god just as truly as if no other god existed. Without interfering at all with the polytheism of myth, worship was essentially monotheistic; i. e., it was the worship of one god at a time as though he were the only god. The third book of the *Odyssey* describes two sacrifices: at the sacrifice to Poseidon there is no thought of any other god, and the next day, when sacrifice is offered to Athena, there is no mention of Poseidon's existence. With another kind of animal and a slightly different ritual, the attention of the worshiper is absorbed in another god. The local nature of Greek religion means that there were as many religions as there were cities, or rather as many as there were individual shrines in each city. Between these countless religions there were many bonds, but from the standpoint of worship they were essentially distinct.

6. Closely connected with the local nature of Greek religion, both as cause and as effect, is the relation of worship to the state. The modern conception of a state church, like the modern conception of freedom of worship protected by the state, must be set aside as inapplicable. It would be nearer the truth to say that every social group was a religious unit just as much as a political unit. Every local cult was in the hands of the state or of some division of the state; conversely, every element in the state was distinguished by its own peculiar worship. The connection was a vital one in that the tribe or deme or family consisted of persons (hypothetically) descended from some one divine ancestor; even the state, even the whole Greek people explained its unity on this principle; that the same divine blood flowed in the veins of its members. A religious adoption was necessary to make foreigners citizens, just as a religious recognition was necessary to bring children into the state.

It is unnecessary for my purpose to describe in detail how this

connection of worship with the political organization was worked out. In general, the administration of each religious center belonged to the political unit with which it was connected. The accounts of the priests were rendered and audited like those of any other public official. Religious law was administered in the last instance by the same courts as the law of the state. The institution of new worship or the revival of old worship took place by vote of the political assembly. On the other hand, the political assembly always sought the guidance of the gods in important matters; justice was administered in the name of the gods; in particular all interstate matters stood under divine protection. There was no "state church" for the reason that state and church were essentially one from the time when the king was the only priest and his palace the central sanctuary of the state, down through all Greek history.

7. The failure of Greek religion was due in the last instance, not to the religion itself, but to the people. When state and church were so intimately connected, the same forces which destroyed the power of the state inevitably weakened the organization of religion. An individualism which undermined patriotic devotion to the state undermined devotion to the state worship. The spread of education and popular philosophy, the increase of luxury in the home, the dissipation of those high ideals which marked the early development of Athens, were tendencies which weakened the organization of religion, if not religion itself. Nor was the democratic state strong enough to overcome the centrifugal forces which affected religion.

The result of this disintegration was that, from the fourth century on, philosophy and ethics and art, the pursuit of the true, the good, the beautiful, cut loose from organized religion. The pageantry of the state worship remained, and superstition remained, but men sought an answer to the great questions of life along independent lines. Although the contributions of this later philosophy to Christianity were most important, they came through philosophy, not through religion.

8. A comparison of the present age and its civilization with the decay of Greek civilization has been drawn by several recent writers. Both periods are not other than religious; the failure of organized religion to keep its hold on much of what is highest in thought and life

is in a measure characteristic of both. The plain lesson of Greece is that an organization of religion which places a false emphasis on any of the elements which enter into it, is doomed. Such is the hold of tradition on methods of thought and activity that it is difficult to keep any organization perfectly plastic to the highest ideals of a progressive age. Any failure means that science and philosophy and art will claim the devotion which properly belongs to religion; "ethical culture" or scientific devotion to truth may become more religious than the church, if the church does not claim its fullest, highest heritage.

The first question, then, which a study of Greek religion suggests to Christianity today is whether we make a fitting place in our religious life for every form of human ideals. The fundamental principle of life for the Greek was the principle of measure or proportion. Is there any ideal of righteousness or devotion to truth which does not find fullest recognition in the church? For, if the church does not claim the highest forms of these ideals as its own, it cannot claim to furnish a religion that is adequate for our age. Is sympathy for human weakness perfectly balanced by a demand for righteousness? Does the legitimate effort to extend and maintain its influence never weaken either the power to be sympathetic or the sense for right? Again, does the church cultivate our love for beauty and fully utilize it for religious ends? We may learn from Greece that nothing gives religion such a hold on humanity, that no single ideal is so universally and subtly elevating, as the beautiful. Just because the love of beauty often serves as a substitute for real religion, there is the more reason that the church utilize it in the service of religion.

Various other questions are raised by the study of Greek religion. Is there any reason why the Protestant church should not utilize local associations far more than it does? Are we right in drawing lines of division between the natural and the supernatural? And cannot our worship be so adjusted as better to include God and man and the world in one scheme? Are long creeds necessary, or can we develop deep-rooted faith in a personal God which shall find constant expression in life rather than in words?

I should like to pass by these questions to call attention to one that is even more important. The very core of Greek religion is its wor-

ship of humanity in and through its gods. The belief in an essential unity between the nature of God and the nature of man lies at the root of every form of religion. No more complete expression for this fact has ever been found than the Christian doctrine of Jesus the perfect Son of God. And yet no one can turn from the study of Greek religion to modern Christianity without asking whether the church is realizing all that this doctrine means. Is the humanity of the divine Christ a vital factor in our life and in our worship? The Greek conception of the relation of gods to the world was far too simple to cover the facts of experience, but we may well ask whether any conception of the world is truer which leaves in the background of vague obscurity the belief that human nature gives the best clue there is to the nature of that power which governs the world. In so far as we practically fail to lay hold on a god of human sympathies as the fundamental fact of life, we have much to learn from Greece.

THE BIBLICAL TEACHING CONCERNING DIVORCE

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I. OLD TESTAMENT TEACHING AND JEWISH USAGE

The Old Testament passages bearing upon the dissolubility or indissolubility of marriage, or referring to divorce, are the following: Gen. 2:24; Hosea 1:2 ff.; 3:1 ff.; Deut. 22:19, 29; 24:1-4; Jer. 3:1; Lev. 21:7, 14; 22:13; Num. 30:9; Ezra 9:2 ff., 12; chap. 10; Mal. 2:10-16.¹

Gen. 2:24,² though it contains no direct reference to divorce, presents a conception of marriage which is distinctly unfavorable to the dissolubility of marriage. Dillmann says respecting it: "It is to be observed that it is marriage with one wife which is here represented as the normal relationship, and at the same time marriage which transcends love of parents even." To this is to be added that the expression "shall be one flesh"—one being, even physically viewed—suggests the most intimate possible union, and therefore not temporary or made with a view to subsequent dissolution.³ Yet the passage contains, of course, no direct statement concerning divorce.

The passages in Hosea⁴ are generally understood as narrating the

¹ Of these the Genesis passage is assigned by Old Testament scholars to the eighth or ninth century B. C.; Hosea, to the eighth; Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, to the seventh; Leviticus and Numbers, to the sixth; Ezra and Malachi, to the fifth.

² Gen. 2:24, "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh."

³ Another view of this passage is possible, viz., that it is a survival from most primitive times when the matriarchate was still in force; then the man joined his wife's clan, and not vice versa as in later times. The phrase "one flesh" may then be only a reflection of that previously existing condition when it was literally true. But even if this be the history and original meaning of the passage, it is probable that in historic times it was understood in the sense given it by Dillmann, and that as a reflection of the thought of this later period his interpretation is correct.

⁴ Hos. 1:2, 3, "Jehovah said unto Hosea, Go take unto thee a wife of whoredom, and children of whoredom. . . . So he went and took Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim, and she conceived and bare him a son." 3:1, "And Jehovah said unto me, Go again and love a woman beloved of her friend, and an adulteress, even as

actual experience of Hosea with his wife, who after her marriage to him committed adultery and bore illegitimate children, but whom, after she had deserted him for her paramour and had been sold into slavery, he at the command of God bought back and restored to her place as wife in his house. Of divorce in a legal sense nothing is said.

Respecting the classic deuteronomic passage⁵ it is to be observed:

a) It does not institute divorce, but, finding it in existence, seeks to regulate or restrict it.

b) It is not certain whether the protasis of the sentence ends, as in R. V., with the words "some unseemly thing in her," or, as Driver holds, at the end of vs. 3. In the former case the writing of the bill of divorcement is enjoined; in the latter case it is assumed as a part of already existing usage. The difference as respects the bill of divorcement is not very material; the statute in any case practically requires the writing, whether in distinction from former usage or in continuance of it. It is perhaps of more significance as concerns remarriage. On Driver's interpretation vs. 2 assumes the possibility of such marriage; according to R. V. it expressly permits it.

c) The ground of divorce is some unseemly thing in the wife (vs. 1), or the hatred of the husband for his wife (vs. 3). It does not seem to be a part of the intent of the passage to define with exactness the legitimate grounds of divorce, or specially to insist that they shall be serious. The language implies that divorce ought not to be, or will not be, for trivial cause, but "some unseemly thing" cannot mean specifically or exclusively adultery, the penalty for which was death (22:22); on the strictest interpretation it refers to immodest

Jehovah loveth the children of Israel, though they turn unto other gods and love cakes of raisins. So I bought her to me for fifteen pieces of silver, and an homer of barley, and an half homer of barley."

⁵ Deut. 24:1-4, "When a man taketh a wife, and marrieth her, then it shall be, if she finds no favor in his eyes, because he hath found some unseemly thing in her, that he shall write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house. And when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another man's wife. And if the latter husband hate, her and write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house: or if the latter husband die, who took her to be his wife, her former husband who sent her away may not take her again to be his wife, after that she is defiled; for that is abomination before Jehovah."

and indecent behavior. In any case it is left to the husband to determine what constitutes sufficient reason for divorce.

d) The specific obstacles which the statute puts in the way of divorce are three: (1) The divorce must be in writing. The husband could not in a moment of anger dissolve the marriage. Though the law does not require that the writing should be signed and sealed in presence of an officer, it would probably often at least be necessary to resort to a scribe in order to have the writing done, and usage may have required this.⁶ (2) The divorce must be delivered to the wife. This was perhaps a formal act, possibly accompanied in usage by legal formalities; at any rate a definite step, requiring a second definite decision on the part of the husband. Added to the necessity of having the divorce written out it gave time for anger to cool and sober second thought to take its place. (3) But, most important, the statute prohibited remarriage in case the woman, after being sent away, should marry another. This definitely excluded repeated experiment on the part of the husband, and the eventual return to an earlier choice, by making his dissolution of the marriage final, in case the wife should marry another. It would tend also to lead him, even after divorce, to consider whether he should not take back the wife of his youth before she had become irrevocably lost to him. It would also tend to discourage the wife from accepting a second husband since such marriage, even if subsequently dissolved, was an absolute barrier to returning to her husband whom she had loved and perhaps still loved. Thus in all these ways the statute put obstacles in the way of probationary and experimental marriage.

e) The statute does not prohibit a second marriage on the part of the husband who has divorced his first wife, nor interpose any obstacles to it except those that are implied above.

f) The statute does not prohibit the marriage of the divorced wife to another. On the contrary, it assumes this as possible, not to say probable, or expressly permits it, and bases its practical dissuasion from hasty divorce on this possibility. That such a mar-

⁶ Eventually the custom of applying to a rabbi to have the divorce written gave to him functions that approached those of a court. But even for centuries after the Christian era the fact that divorce was a matter for the husband's decision was recognized. See Amram, *The Jewish Law of Divorce*, pp. 32, 52 f., 78 f.

riage is iniquitous is possibly suggested in the phrase "after that she is defiled" (vs. 3). But, in view of the whole tenor of the passage, it seems probable that this word is to be taken rather in a relative than in an absolute sense; the union with a second husband is relatively to her former husband a defilement rather than a thing in itself iniquitous.

g) No protection is afforded the wife except against hasty action on her husband's part. The right to divorce rests solely with the husband. The wife has no right to divorce her husband,⁷ and she has no appeal from his decision to any higher authority.

Of the other deuteronomic passages, 22:13-19 provides that, if a husband shall falsely accuse his wife of having been unchaste before marriage, he shall be chastised by the elders of the city, and shall thereafter have no right to divorce her; and 22:28, 29 enacts that a man who shall have carnal relation with an unbetrothed virgin shall marry her, and shall have no right thereafter to divorce her. If in this case the penalty is fitted to the crime, and is not simply exemplary, the ground for it lies in the fact that by ruining the woman's reputation he has made marriage after divorce impossible for her; hence must not divorce her. The implication, then, is that remarriage is the privilege of the divorced woman.

The Jeremiah passage⁸ is apparently an allusion to Deut. 24:1-4, the more interesting in view of the fact that Jeremiah's activity began five years before, and extended for some years after, the discovery of this "Book of the Law" in Josiah's reign, 621 B. C. Like Hosea, Jeremiah compares the restoration of a divorced wife to God's love for Israel; but implies that what Deut. 24:1-4 prohibits, no man would be willing to do, and that the doing of it would greatly "pollute the land."

⁷ Amram, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 ff., thinks that the germ of a wife's right to sue for divorce exists even in the Pentateuch, in Exod. 21:7-11; Deut. 21:14. Yet it is to be observed that in no case could the wife divorce her husband; at most she could only demand that the husband give her a divorce (p. 60); and the existence of a tribunal to which the wife could appeal for the enforcement of her rights is even for New Testament times a matter of uncertain inference from data strictly belonging to a later period.

⁸ Jer. 3:1, "If a man put away his wife, and she go from him, and become another man's, will he return unto her again? will not that land be greatly polluted? But thou hast played the harlot with many lovers; yet return again to me, saith Jehovah."

Lev. 21:7, 14 prohibits a priest from marrying a divorced woman, implying, on the one hand, that such a woman was in a sense unclean and under a certain degree of opprobrium, and, on the other hand, that her marriage to an Israelite not a priest was permitted.

Lev. 22:13 and Num. 30:9 merely mention the divorced woman, without implication as to the propriety or impropriety of divorce.

Ezra, chap. 9, relates that Ezra, discovering that many of the Israelites who had returned from captivity, and even priests and Levites, had taken to themselves wives "from the peoples of the land," was smitten with horror at this iniquity and required all who had married such wives to put them away. Chap. 10 narrates the putting-away of these non-Israelitish wives and their children. This is the one instance in the Old Testament in which divorce is approved.

Malachi,⁹ who wrote in the days of Ezra, sharply reproves his countrymen for marrying foreign wives and for divorcing, each of them, the wife of his youth.

It thus appears that the Old Testament writers from the eighth to the fifth centuries are in substantial agreement in their ideal of marriage; viz., the union of one man and one woman till death part them. That ideal is not insisted upon or embodied in statute. On the one side, polygamy is not prohibited; and, on the other, the husband is permitted to divorce his wife for causes of the adequacy of which he is apparently to be judge. But alike the deuteronomic legislation and the teachings of the prophets are directed to the discouraging and checking of divorce, and to the realization of the ideal of life-long union of husband and wife. In one instance only is divorce encouraged; viz., in the case of the Israelites of the days of Ezra who had married heathen wives.¹⁰ Here, in the interests of

⁹ Mal. 2:11-14, "Judah hath dealt treacherously, and an abomination is committed in Israel and in Jerusalem; for Judah hath profaned the holiness of Jehovah which he loveth, and hath married the daughter of a foreign god. Jehovah will cut off to the man that doeth this him that waketh and him that answereth, out of the tents of Jacob, and him that offereth an offering unto Jehovah of hosts. And this again ye do: ye cover the altar of Jehovah with weeping and with groaning, insomuch that he regardeth not the offering any more, neither receiveth it with good will at your hand. Yet ye say, Wherefore? Because Jehovah hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, against whom thou hast dealt treacherously."

¹⁰ Abraham also is recorded to have sent away Hagar and her child, with similar reason assigned: "In Isaac shall thy seed be called." The taking of Michal from

the purity of Israel's religion, marriages of which there had already been issue were dissolved.

That, in view of these statutes and teachings, there should have been differences of opinion among the Jewish teachers of New Testament times concerning what constituted legitimate ground for divorce is not surprising. The school of Shammai, as is well known, interpreted the "unseemly thing" (literally, "the nakedness of a thing") of Deut. 24:1 as referring to unchastity, while that of Hillel made it cover anything whereby the wife displeased her husband, even, e. g., a burned dinner.¹¹ But the whole discussion seems to have been in a sense academic, having to do, primarily, with the question what the phrase meant, and so what the husband ought to regard as sufficient ground of divorce; and, secondarily, how far he ought to avail himself of the right which the law gave him. It is important to notice (a) that no one denied *in toto* the husband's right of divorce; (b) that divorce was still a private matter, in the sense that the husband divorced his wife, rather than was granted a divorce by a court; (c) that, while scribes disagreed as to what the statute meant, and so what was adequate cause of divorce, the actual power of decision was in the hands of the husband;¹² (d) that there is no indication that the right of marriage after divorce was questioned. Deut. 24:1-4

David by her father Saul (I Sam. 25:43), and her subsequent recovery by David from Palti to whom Saul had given her, hardly require discussion in this connection.

¹¹ Rabbi Akiba, of the second century, held the same view, basing on the words, "if she find no favor in his eyes" the contention that a man might divorce his wife if he found another more beautiful woman.

¹² On both this and the preceding point cf. the language of Josephus in his paraphrase of the laws of Moses (*Antiquities*, IV, viii, 23): "he that desires to be divorced from his wife for any cause (and many such causes happen among men), let him in writing give assurance that he will never use her as his wife any more; for by this means she may be at liberty to marry another husband, although before the bill of divorce be given she is not to be permitted to do so. But if she be misused by him also, or if when he is dead her first husband would marry her again, it shall not be lawful for her to return to him." See also Josephus, *Life*, §§ 75, 76, where he relates that, having married a virgin and divorced her, he married another wife at Alexandria, and that when she had borne him three children, he also divorced her, "not being pleased with her behavior" (μη ἀρεσκόμενος αὐτῇ τοῖς ἡθεσιν). After this he married a third wife, a Jewess by birth. The right of the husband to divorce his wife of course carried with it the possibility of divorce by mutual consent. Cf. Amram, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 f. According to this writer (p. 43), supported by Mischnah, Kethuboth, iii, 5, the husband was bound to divorce a wife guilty of adultery.

seems to have been the recognized law. Instances of a woman divorcing her husband were apparently still rare, if indeed they occurred at all among the Jews. The case of Herodias,¹³ who left her first husband to marry his brother, Herod Antipas, who had himself for the sake of this marriage divorced his wife, the daughter of Aretas, can hardly be cited as such; for Herodias was not strictly a Jewish woman, and her act was rather desertion than divorce. The gospels relate that John the Baptist denounced Herod for this marriage; but it is perhaps not without significance that he finds the iniquity, not in putting away the daughter of Aretas, but in marrying a woman who was the wife of another, the former husband not having divorced her, but she having deserted him. It is also of interest, as reflecting the state of public opinion in such matters, that, according to Josephus, (*Antiquities*, XVIII, v, 2) the disasters that subsequently overtook Herod, though in fact directly due to his divorce of his first wife, were looked upon by the people as a judgment of God upon him, not for divorcing his wife, or even for marrying his brother's wife, but for having put John to death.

In short, Jewish usage of the first Christian century remained where the legislation of Deut. 24:1-4 left the matter. The only progress was in the development of a clearly marked difference of opinion upon the meaning of the phrase "nakedness of a thing" in Deut. 24:1, and consequently as to the reasons for which a husband might properly divorce his wife. But divorce was still in the hands of the husband, and it was for him to decide whether sufficient cause existed to justify it. Marriage after divorce was permitted without restriction save in the prohibition of a second marriage of the same persons, the wife having meantime been married to another.

¹³ See Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVIII, v, 1 and 4, 'Ηρωδιάς ἐπὶ συγχύσει φρονήσασα τῶν πατρῶν Ἡρώδης γαμέται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῷ ὁμοπατρὶ φῶ ἀδελφῷ διαστάσα ὢντος. Of Salome, the sister of Herod, however, Josephus (*op. cit.*, XV, vii, 10) relates that she quarreled with her husband Costabarus, and sent him a bill of divorcement (πέμπει . . . αὐτῷ γραμματίον ἀπολυμένη τὸν γάμον), to which Josephus adds that this was "not according to Jewish laws. For with us it is lawful for a man to do this, but a woman may not when separated from her husband of her own will marry, unless her former husband has given her up." Cases like that of Salome, were, of course, not uncommon among the Romans, and both Salome and Herodias may have been influenced by Roman usage. It is perhaps not without significance that it is Mark only among the gospels that mentions the possibility of a wife divorcing her husband. In I Cor. 7:10, 11, also the matter is spoken of reciprocally, though in both cases it is leaving rather than putting away that is mentioned.

CONDUCT AND DESTINY

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“He that soweth unto his own flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption, but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap eternal life.”—Gal. 6:8.

Paul solved the problem of giving glory to commonplace lives. He solved the problem by bringing each detail of life under the dominance of a high motive. In the context of these words from the letter to the Galatians he is hinting that the Galatian churches ought to pay their pastors or teachers more generously. To warn them against selfishness in this detail of life, he holds before them two great types of life, and the consequences of each.

Is it possible to sum up in a few sentences what Paul means by these four great words—“flesh,” “corruption,” “Spirit,” “life”—which had come to mean so much in his own personal religious life?

Flesh.—The flesh is the selfish instinct. Paul does not seem to consider the flesh itself to be sinful, but that which gives occasion to sin. Man is not sinful because he possesses the selfish instinct, but because he yields to it. It is *sowing to the flesh* that brings the terrible disaster mentioned here. The flesh, then, is that instinct in a person which rises up to demand its own gratification regardless of all other interests. It says, with the savagery of inherited animalism: “What I want I take.” The sin of yielding to the demand of this instinct, may show itself in ways that are openly brutal and repulsive, or outwardly cultured and polite. The savage may appear in his native nakedness or in evening dress. He may even look longingly upon the brotherly civilization of unselfish men and turn away from it regretfully, as did the rich young man who drew near to Jesus’ company for awhile with aspiration for the eternal life; but he turns away from it nevertheless, and decides to gratify his own tastes regardless of the interests of others.

Corruption.—The companion word of “flesh” is the word “corruption.” The sin of yielding to the “flesh” results in “corruption.” As surely as harvest follows seeding, so surely does “corruption” follow

the cultivation of the "flesh." What, then, is the corruption which necessarily results from gratifying the selfish instinct and developing it through gratifying it? The word "corruption" means "decay," "rotteness." It is the word by which Paul describes the wreckage of a personality. What he conceived to be the details of this wreckage he has not discussed at length. We are left to ascertain for ourselves what there is in the nature of selfishness that makes its necessary consequence the wreckage of personality. Perhaps there is no subject in our day that needs more earnest attention from all ministers and educators of public sentiment.

We live in an age that is peculiarly insistent in pressing back of phraseology and reaching facts. We must press back of the phraseology of Paul and inquire what actually happens to the personality that insists upon developing the selfish instinct. Although Paul does not discuss the question in detail, he here and there throws out significant hints. The consequence of developing the selfish instinct, and so disregarding the interests of others, is that the self becomes separated from other personalities. By psychological law, the continued failure to give interested attention to others produces inability to feel an interest in others. The selfish finally become "past feeling" and give themselves up greedily to the unclean work of gratifying the selfish instinct in all the savage forms in which it exhibits itself. ("Who, being past feeling gave themselves up to lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness," Eph. 4:19.) This resulting isolation of themselves from other personalities involves, most of all, the separation of themselves from God. In their dull insensibility to the interests of others they are necessarily "alienated from the life of God" (Eph. 4:18), for he is steadily giving himself to the interests of others. In the earlier stages of their horrible development, while there is still some sense of God left, it is a hostile sense; "the mind of the flesh is enmity against God" (Rom. 8:7).

Such separation of themselves from others results in their being left alone, shut up to themselves. Others may be all about them, but these others make no impression; and the selfish man is consequently far more fatally alone than he would be if far away from others in space, but wanting them in heart. He is condemned by the violated laws of his own being to solitary confinement.

"Thyself thy own dark jail.

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 O doom beyond the saddest guess,
 As the long years of God unroll
 To make thy dreary selfishness
 The prison of a soul."

Such isolation must involve pain. The fundamental dread of the soul, revealed in the little child's frightened cry in the night, or the mad rush of population to the city, is the dread of being alone. The solitary cell is one of the extreme punishments of modern penology.

Closely related to the pain of loneliness is the pain of idleness, aimless idleness. Idleness is a necessary consequence of isolation; for there is practically nothing that a person can do without the co-operation of others. Jesus, with his keen insight into the nature of life, expressed this when he said: "Of myself I can do nothing." The Johannine description of the man far on in selfishness is: "He walketh in darkness and knoweth not whither he goeth." He is alone in the dark. He knows no reason for going one way rather than another. All sense of direction, purpose, and destination is gone. The selfish person, by the natural laws of his being, must ultimately be without friends and without work. He putters away painfully and ever more feebly in his little, lonely, self-made hell. The capacity for friendship and work has apparently rotted out of his personality. His personality is a wreck. "He that soweth unto his own flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption."

Spirit.—The "spirit" is that part of the personality which Paul strongly contrasts with the "flesh." It is the instinct that is interested in others, and cries out for alliance with them. It is that part of the personality with which the "Spirit of God" forms an alliance. Paul teaches that the spirit of the man who has believed in Jesus is received into a close alliance with the "Spirit" of God. When the believer's spirit has been thus reinforced, he is successful for the first time in bringing his life under the dominance of the unselfish principle, in spite of the strong insistence of the selfish flesh. Much that Paul says about the "spirit" is said when he has in mind the human spirit reinforced by the divine Spirit; and it is not always easy to ascertain which of the two, if either, is more prominent in his thought. This

accounts for the perplexity of the translators as to the propriety of writing "Spirit" or "spirit." That Paul really recognizes the human "spirit" as distinct from the divine "Spirit" is evident from the statement: "The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit that we are children of God" (Rom. 8:16).

Eternal life.—The natural consequence of developing the spiritual side of the personality, now energized by the Spirit of God, is "eternal life." What does Paul mean by "eternal life"? He means the restful adjustment of the human self to its personal environment. "The mind of the Spirit is *life* and *peace*" (Rom. 8:6). This adjustment of personal environment is first of all adjustment to God. The mind of the flesh is enmity against God; the mind of the spirit is alliance with God's Spirit. It is the projection of this present relationship with the Holy Spirit into the future that constitutes the eternal life of the future, for the presence of the Spirit is called the "first-fruits" of that for which we wait (Rom. 8:23). This idea of adjustment to God is involved in the frequently recurring phrase "in Christ." In the vital union with Jesus Christ, described by this phrase and involved in "faith," the believer finds God. It is the projection of this present fellowship with Christ into the eternal future that constitutes "eternal life." "So shall we ever be with the Lord" (I Thess. 4:17), is the brief sentence by which Paul describes the life to be. This adjustment of the personality to God, his Spirit, his Son, in loving friendship, involves also a similar relationship to man, for in Paul's teaching all God's law is summed up in one word: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Rom. 13:8-10). This Pauline view of life is in accordance with our modern attempt to define life as the adaptation of an organism to its environment. The principal part of a man's environment is made up of the persons that surround him, and that adaptation to them which constitutes "life" is love. Paul is at one here with the teaching of Jesus: "Thou shalt *love* the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself. This do and thou shalt *live*" (Luke 10:27, 28).

Eternal life, then, consists in the great friendships with God and men which are to ripen in the age to come. The Pauline conception of life involves, not only adjustment to personal environment, which is friendship, but also adjustment to non-personal environment, which

involves work. In the Pauline teaching regarding a "spiritual body" in the age to come (I Cor. 15:44) there is provision for operation upon a so-called physical environment, or for work. These two fundamental aspirations of the human personality—the aspiration for friendship and the aspiration for achievement, or work—are necessarily involved in Paul's conception of life. Just as sowing to the "flesh," or to the selfish instinct, was seen necessarily to result in the painful loneliness of friendlessness and idleness, so sowing to the "spirit," or to the unselfish instinct, necessarily results in the increased capacity for, and enjoyment of, friendship and achievement, or work. The civilization of the age to come is a civilization of friendly workmen. Over against such a civilization, throbbing with faith, hope, and love, the eternally abiding centripetal forces of the ultimate civilization (I Cor. 13:13), is the anarchy of selfishness characterized by the great disruptive opposites of faith, hope, and love—distrust, despair, and hate.

"He that soweth unto his own flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption, but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the spirit reap eternal life."

THE MEN WHO MADE ISRAEL

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ABRAHAM AND THE FOREFATHERS OF ISRAEL

9. All nations that have achieved something in the world are wont to look back to their origins. America has its Pilgrim Fathers, England, its Anglo-Saxon ancestors. As time goes on, every detail in the experiences of these early heroes is lingered over lovingly, the meaning of their experiences magnified and interpreted in the light of later history. A peculiar love for this backward look is shown by ancient peoples. Although they followed their origins far behind the time when any written records existed, they had no lack of memories. Stories were handed down by word of mouth from family to family or from tribe to tribe, full of life and color, with definite details which in course of time took an organized form. Sometimes the nation was traced back to an individual founder, as Rome to Romulus. More frequently the origins of a nation were presented in the form of a genealogy, a single ancestor standing at the head of the line, the forefather of a tribe from which the nation sprang, which was thus of one blood. Thus Hellen was the common father of the Greek people, who called themselves the Hellenes. The various Greek tribes were related to their ancestor as branches from a common stem.

10. To this well-nigh universal custom Israel was no exception. It, too, was proud of its past, of which it preserved well-ordered recollections. Even when it could not write, it could remember, and these memories it preserved in the form of a family tree, the stem of which was the first great hero and forefather, Abraham. His descendants were the various peoples with which Israel's beginnings were connected in its memories. Their movements were events in the lives of these individual descendants. The whole presented a word-picture, in the form of personal experiences easily remembered and handed down, of the scene and the life out of which Israel grew into a separate people. When these biographies were written down in a period when

Israel had long been a nation, the prophets and priests who wrote them drew from them a rich store of instruction regarding Jehovah's relation to his people. It is in the use of these materials, preserved thus in a way common to all ancient nations, that Israel's memories are distinguished from those of any other people.

11. The story of Abraham begins, for Israel's tradition, with a critical moment in his life. He was the son of Terah, a descendant of Shem. Terah had been living in or near Ur, a famous old city of Babylonia, at the mouth of the Euphrates River, but for reasons unknown to us had migrated up the Euphrates to Haran, a city in the upper Mesopotamian valley. There he died, and two of his sons continued to abide there. Not so Abraham. God had another destiny for him. God promised him that, if he would follow the divine guidance in further journeying, he would have a career of wide influence and a mighty nation would grow from his descendants. Abraham was seventy-five years old, and had no children; yet he trusted the divine promise. He left his brethren, took his wife Sarah and his possessions, and, accompanied only by his nephew Lot, crossed the Euphrates and entered the unknown westland.

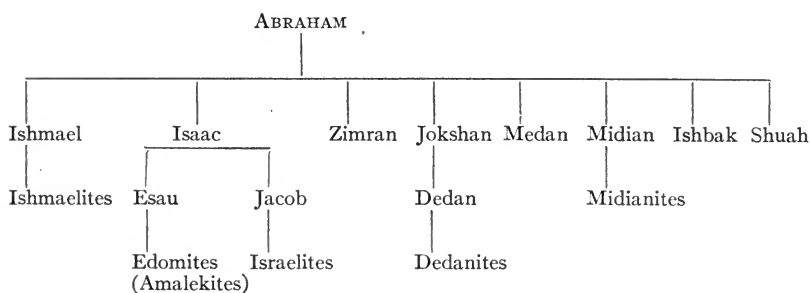
12. Our next glimpse of him is in Palestine. There he wanders up and down the western plateau, among the Canaanites who were settled there, building altars to Jehovah at Shechem and Bethel, and even entering Egypt. His nephew Lot left him to settle in the rich valley of the Jordan River. For Abraham it was enough that Jehovah again assured him that the highland of Palestine where he wandered would be the possession of his descendants. So he went on. He built an altar at Hebron. He won fame by a night attack on an army led by kings of Babylonia who had come to recover their authority over rebellious rulers of the land. Following this achievement came a new and more definite promise from Jehovah that a son should be born to him, whose descendants would rule over all Palestine from the Euphrates to Egypt.

13. Yet still the promise was not fulfilled, and Abraham, as the custom of his time was, begat a son by his wife's slave, Hagar. This was Ishmael, the ancestor of the tribes known as the Ishmaelites. He thought that thus the hope of posterity might be realized. Soon after Jehovah made a covenant with him, assuring him that not Ish-

mael, but a son born of Sarah, should realize the promise, and requiring of him as a sign of his acceptance of the covenant, that he should introduce the rite of circumcision. One year after, when he had reached the age of one hundred years, this son was born and named Isaac. Thereupon Abraham sent Hagar and Ishmael away and centered his hopes on Isaac.

14. Jehovah tested Abraham's faith yet again by requiring him to offer up Isaac as a burnt-sacrifice to him, as was a not uncommon custom at the time. Abraham obeyed; but just as he was about to slay his son preparatory to the burning, Jehovah intervened and supplied a ram as a substitute. He added a new assurance in the form of a solemn oath that the former promises should surely be fulfilled. When Isaac was of proper age, Abraham obtained for him a wife, Rebekah, from the descendants of his brethren in Mesopotamia. After this, at the age of one hundred and seventy-five years, Abraham died.

15. Other episodes of Abraham's life were preserved in tradition. On one occasion, when God determined to destroy the cities in which Lot dwelt, Abraham appealed to the divine mercy to save them, provided ten righteous were found there. These could not be found, and the cities perished, but Lot and his family were saved, and became the ancestors of the nations of Moab and Ammon. A characteristic account is given of Abraham's bargain with the children of Heth, the Hittites, for the purchase of the cave of Machpelah as a burial-place at the time of Sarah's death. Abraham himself married again a certain Keturah, and thus became the ancestor of many tribes of the Midianites. The following genealogical table illustrates the branches of Abraham's family.



16. The above table reveals clearly how Israel regarded itself as related to the people round about it. With the Canaanites and Amorites, who made up the bulk of the population, it was conscious of no close ties. The same was true of the Hittites. But the case was different with Moab and Ammon, and with the Midianite and Ishmaelite tribes of the Arabian desert. To them Israel recognized a special relation, and represented it by claiming with them a common descent from the family of Abraham. From these connections it seems possible to draw some conclusions as to the period in the history of the ancient world when Abraham lived. It is thought that the migration which brought the Canaanites and Amorites into Palestine began in the centuries shortly after 2500 B. C. As they were settled there in Abraham's day, he must have entered long after. The Hittites with whom Abraham dwelt in Palestine appeared in Syria about 1700 B. C. These facts suggest that Israel's recollections of Abraham take us back to the sixteenth century. But the kings of Babylonia whose army he defeated have been found to belong to a period long before; in fact, to the time when the Canaanites were just entering Palestine (2250 B. C.). Here is a difficulty which is not yet solved. What it means is that Israel's traditions did not clearly distinguish the time in which the events they narrated took place, and that the teachers who gathered and organized them were not concerned with such questions.

17. What interested these teachers was to show how Israel's destiny and character as a nation were determined in Abraham. He was Israel's forefather, not merely because the nation was descended from him, but chiefly because he received for Israel certain promises from Jehovah; and his spirit in acting upon them was an example for his descendants. (a) Through Abraham, Israel was selected by Jehovah from among the other peoples of the earth for a special career. It became a "chosen people," as the prophets said. A land was set apart for it—the land of Palestine. It was to be an empire extending far north and south, and other nations were to benefit from its rule. (b) This greatness was to come from doing as Abraham did—following where Jehovah led, obeying his word of command, having faith in him even when it seemed to invite disaster. This is

what is meant by the famous saying: "Abraham believed in Jehovah; and he reckoned it to him for righteousness."

18. Few nations have been so favored as was Israel in being able to count Abraham as its ancestor. To know that through him a splendid future was in store for it; to feel that the high task of being worthy of that future was laid upon it; and to strive to reach that future, not by vulgar straining after wealth or worldly power, but by obedience to God and trust in his guidance—this was Israel's fine outlook and inspiration. This was what Abraham meant to those who came after him; and by it he stands foremost among the men who made Israel.



HEBRON, THE REPUTED BURIAL PLACE OF ABRAHAM

EXPOSITORY STUDIES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

II. ABRAM

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ABRAM CALLED TO BE A BLESSING: GENESIS 12:1-8¹

LITERARY SOURCES

Underlying the Book of Genesis are three literary sources, known respectively as the Jehovist, the Elohist, and the Priestly documents. The two former are written by men of prophetic spirit, interested in the moral and religious ideas which the great prophets so earnestly emphasize; the latter is written by priests, whose predominant interest is ritual. As the period covered by Genesis offers little scope for allusions to ritual, the priestly document is but meagerly represented in that book. Full advantage is taken of such opportunity as offers, notably in the recital of the institution of circumcision—Gen., chap. 17, comes entirely from this document; but it is in Exodus, Numbers, and particularly Leviticus, that the priestly writers make their greatest and most continuous contribution.

The Jehovist and Elohist documents have very much in common. From them come practically all the interesting and romantic tales in the Pentateuch. The material with which they deal comes from ancient tradition and poetry that gathered around the origin and early life of Israel, and this they use in such a way as to illustrate the divine purpose that governed Israel's national life. The Jehovist document is so called from the fact that it uses the word "Jehovah" from the very beginning as the name of Deity; the Elohist is so called because its general name for Deity is "Elohim" (that is, "God"); cf. Gen. 20:3.

We are not here concerned with the way in which these documents have been disentangled by criticism from the continuous narrative of the Pentateuch; suffice it to say that each has a clearly marked vocabulary, style, and theology of its own. The two prophetic documents stand, indeed, in these respects very close to each other, and together they form a sharp contrast to the priestly document, whose precise and formal style is usually very easy to detect. Approximately the Jehovist document comes from

¹ International Sunday-School Lesson for February 10, 1907.

the ninth century B. C., the Elohist from the eighth, and the priestly from the fifth. Even the earliest of them is therefore many centuries removed from the events which it records in Genesis. How very far removed, in some cases, it was, we shall see, if we remember, as is commonly held today, that Abraham belongs to the twenty-third century B. C. The exodus took place about 1200 B. C., so that even the oldest literary document is over three centuries from Moses—nearly as far from him as we are from Columbus and the discovery of America. It is plain, therefore, that in Genesis we are not reading contemporary history. The passage before us (Gen. 12:1-8) illustrates this point admirably. In vs. 6 we are told that "the Canaanite was *then* in the land." This statement implies that by the author's time they were no longer in the land, at least that they had no longer a separate existence. Now, there were Jebusites in Jerusalem as late as David's time (II Sam. 24:16), and the Canaanites were not reduced to subjection till the time of Solomon. This document then, which happens to be the Jehovist, could not be earlier than Solomon's time, and other passages distinctly imply the existence of the monarchy (cf. Gen. 36:31).

In Gen. 12:1-8 the Jehovist and the priestly documents are represented, vss. 4*b* and 5 coming from the latter, and all the rest from the former. The precise mention of the age of Abraham, the minuteness, circumstantiality, and repetition in 12:4*b*, 5, are unmistakably priestly. The real story, however, comes from the other document.

EXPOSITION

The venture and reward of faith.—Vs. 1: Abraham is represented as leaving his native land under a religious impulse, or, in the biblical way of putting it, in obedience to a divine voice. The sacrifice that the voice invites him to make is tremendous—nothing less than the giving up of country, kindred, and home. The cumulative effect of these three simple words is intense; and to an ancient man exile from home was almost as bad as death. And the land to which he is called to go is unknown and unnamed. His departure is a leap in the dark; he literally went out, not knowing whither he went. The greatness of the sacrifice and the vagueness of the goal are told to illustrate what a splendid faith was his. Vs. 2: The narrator represents Abraham as receiving the promise that he would one day become a great nation. To understand the true meaning of these and similar utterances, we must put ourselves in the place of the historian. Considering that he is about fourteen centuries from the events he is recording, we are not to regard such statements as strict and sober history, but rather as the religious *interpretation* of certain facts. The writer writes

at a time when Israel is already a great nation, blessed with numbers and prosperity; and his religious instinct impels him—not without justification—to trace this back to the ancient purpose or promise of God. Vs. 3, “I will bless them that bless thee”: The fate of nations will be determined by their attitude to Israel. In one sense this is profoundly true. But probably the primary meaning is that Israel’s God will *always* be on Israel’s side, irrespective of the rights of the case. An illustration occurs in this very chapter, where Pharaoh is plagued (vs. 17) for a crime into which he had been led by the duplicity of Abraham. If this be the meaning, then we see that the historian stands, in this respect, below the moral level of the literary prophets, who strenuously maintained that Jehovah was not bound to stand by Israel, unless she were obedient. (Am. 3:2.)

Vs. 3, “In thee shall all the families of the earth bless themselves”: The ordinary translation “be blessed” suggests a noble missionary thought—that the world receives her deepest blessing from and through Israel. But 22:18, where the Hebrew word is unambiguous, and the context in both passages, which is material (cf. 22:17) rather than spiritual, make it practically certain that the true translation here is “shall bless themselves.” The meaning will then be: Israel’s blessedness is to be so conspicuous that other nations shall use Israel’s name in invoking blessing for themselves: “May we be blessed as Israel is blessed.”

Vs. 4: So Abram made the great venture in obedience to the voice which made so terrible a demand upon him, and went out into the far unknown land.

Vs. 6: He came to Shechem in the heart of the country. When this story was written, Shechem was, and had long been, one of the seats of the Jehovah worship, just as Bethel (vs. 8) was another; and current tradition connected these and other sanctuaries with the appearances of the national God in the olden days, to the patriarchs. In reality, many of these sanctuaries must have existed as such even before the coming of Israel or her ancestors to Canaan. Bethel was probably a very ancient place of worship; and at Shechem, as we here learn, there was a sacred oak or terebinth, no doubt an oracular tree from which omens were obtained through the rustling of its leaves, or in some such way. This appears to have been the same tree as that which had been known among the Canaanites before Israel’s arrival, as the sorcerers’ tree (Judg. 9:37), and which was even then the seat of an ancient worship.

Vs. 7, “Unto thy seed *will I give* this land:” The bold venture of faith has been rewarded. In vs. 1 it is said only that God will *show* him the land; now, that he will give it to him.

APPLICATION

Undoubtedly some customary applications of this passage are lost by strict fidelity to the historical method of interpretation; e.g., the missionary thought of vs. 3. But that method is nevertheless thoroughly constructive, and it suggests other fruitful lines of application.

a) The opening verses suggest, for example, *the divine significance of history*. The writer sees his country great and prosperous, and asks himself what it all means. He knows that the ancestors of his nation came from the east. Why? These things, he seems to say, are no accident; they are the issue of a divine purpose. He gives a religious interpretation to the past. The migration which brought Abraham and his clan to the west did not merely happen; it was divinely inspired and guided. Precisely what prompted it we do not know; the motive may even have been partly political. But, whatever it was, the voice of God spoke in it. He had a great purpose to fulfil through the descendants of this man, and this was the beginning of it. This very same lesson is taught in another form by the Elohist narrator who makes Abraham say: "God caused me to wander from my father's house" (20:13). From this point of view the insight of the historian is wonderful, and his reading of the past must ever remain very precious to all men of religious temper. An excellent parallel might be found in the coming of the Puritan fathers to America. Considering the very remarkable subsequent development of America, a religious historian would be justified in seeing in their migration westward a movement divinely inspired; and, were he to imitate the language of the Bible, he would probably put it thus, that the Lord had said to them: "Get ye out of your country, and your kindred, and your father's house unto the land that I will show you; and I will make you a great nation, and I will bless you and make your name great."

b) Another point would be *the reward of faith*. Faith trusts the inward voice, and finds that the sequel justifies it. "A land that I will *show* thee:" At first, that is all; but when he reaches the land, he gets far more than a sight of it. It is one day to be his, or at least his descendants'. "Unto thy seed will I *give* this land:" God does not call men to a barren destiny. They may be constrained to give up much that they love—land, kindred, home; but for the loss of one land they will be compensated by the gift of some other. Perhaps in the new land the prospects do not seem bright, for the Canaanites may be there. But the Lord is there, too, and no Canaanites can thwart his purpose. His will must be done, and the man who does it willingly—who obeys, as seeing the invisible—must be, in some deep sense, triumphant.

LOT'S CHOICE: GEN. 13:1-13²

LITERARY SOURCES

This passage is almost entirely from the Jehovist document. The phrase in vs. 10, "the garden of *Jehovah*," and in vs. 13, "sinners against *Jehovah*," make this plain. But here, as in the last passage, the priestly document is also represented. From this document come vss. 6, 11*b*, and 12. Between these two sources, there is a slight but significant difference in the reason they respectively assign for the separation of Abraham and Lot. The Jehovist, which is much the older, ascribes it very naturally to a quarrel between the herdsmen of Abraham and the herdsmen of Lot; the priestly document, on the other hand, explains it on the ground that their flocks and herds were so numerous that they could not dwell together. This difference is characteristic. Speaking generally, the earlier documents have a keener historic sense than the later; but the farther the documents are removed from the times they describe, the more ideal do those times become. In particular the priestly document exhibits a distinct tendency to idealize the patriarchs; and incidents which tend to wound later religious susceptibilities are set in another light. The passage before us is one illustration of this feature, and there are others even more cogent.

EXPOSITION

From Egypt, to which he had gone under stress of famine, Abraham returned by stages—this is the meaning of the word rendered "on his journeys"—to Bethel, the sanctuary at which he had, before his departure, already worshiped his God (12:8). The patriarch is represented as being now a wealthy man, in accordance with the ancient religious idea that goodness is rewarded with riches. Job, too, was a man "perfect and upright, fearing God and shunning evil," and *therefore* his substance was very great (Job 1:1-3). With Abraham, the ancestor of Israel, went Lot, the ancestor of the Moabites and the Ammonites (19:27); and he, too, had flocks and herds in abundance. Then follows the priestly account of their separation. Their possessions were so extensive that they were compelled to part company. A statement like this suggests that we are dealing here—as most modern scholars suppose—with the story of clans or tribes rather than of individuals.

The older document, however, ascribes their separation simply to a quarrel between their respective herdsmen (vs. 7), and in so doing it is true to the conditions of nomadic life in which quarrels of this kind for the possession of pasture-lands, and especially wells, are common. The

² International Sunday-School Lesson for February 17, 1907.

Perizzites, who are associated with the Canaanites, were probably not another tribe or people, but simply the inhabitants of the villages, in contrast to the inhabitants of the fortified cities.

This quarrel gives the author his opportunity to show the nobility and magnanimity of Abraham (vss. 8 ff.). The patriarch is a man of peace, to whom quarreling is unseemly; and he is prepared to make a personal sacrifice, in order to preserve a worthy relation between himself and his nephew, and to prevent strife between their subordinates. So he appeals to Lot, on the score that they are brethren—that is, near relatives; suggests separation, generously offering Lot, who is the younger man, the first choice and avowing himself content to take whatever part of the land Lot cares to leave him.

The simple speech of Abraham is replete with true dignity, and throws into all the more striking contrast the conduct of the calculating Lot, as he raised those shrewd eyes of his to behold the well-watered Plain of the Jordan (vs. 10). This phrase—literally “the Circle or Oval of the Jordan”—is used to denote the Jordan valley from a point several miles north of the Dead Sea to the plain at its southern end. The writer assumes that in those distant days there was no Dead Sea; it was all one fertile and well-watered valley, watered as Egypt is watered by the Nile, and fertile and fair as the garden of Eden. Perhaps the idea was suggested in part by the fertile land about Jericho. It is a striking scene, as these two stood upon the hill of Bethel, with the gaunt and uninviting hills of Judah on the west, and the tempting Jordan valley stretching to the south.

Lot chose the tempting valley (vs. 11). In not leaving the choice to Abraham he failed in the deference due to an older man; while, in choosing the valley and “moving his tent as far as Sodom,” he showed an indifference to the moral values of life; for “the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners exceedingly”—an extremely dramatic and skilful climax (vs. 13).

APPLICATION

1. Incidentally, this story might be held to illustrate the *perils of wealth*. The dispute between Abraham and Lot only took place because both were “very rich in cattle.” It would not perhaps, however, be in the spirit of the ancient story to make much of this point, seeing that the ancients regarded wealth as a sign of the divine favor.

2. A much more important point, and one thoroughly in keeping with the spirit of the story, is that the *ideal man is a lover of peace*. When we read between the lines, it is very easy to see that the writer admires Abraham and finds in him his ideal. The true man, he would seem to say, does not

stand upon his dignity, or urge his legitimate claims on the basis of his seniority. Rather than quarrel, he will yield, so long as no moral principle is at stake. There is a striking magnanimity about Abraham's reply. He will let Lot select whatever part he prefers; for himself, he is prepared to go either to the right hand or to the left. He loves peace; the question of prosperity he will leave to God. But the story is further undoubtedly intended to suggest that, in the long run, such a policy pays. Abraham lost nothing by being generous. In that awful day when the storm of fire swept across the cities of the plain, it did not touch the tents of Abraham, for they had not been pitched upon that deadly area. This teaching must not, of course, be interpreted too rigidly. Many a man has suffered, in worldly estate, for his magnanimity; the only sure reward of nobility is the consciousness of being noble. But it is principally the material reward that is present to the mind of the ancient story-teller; and even in this there is a relative truth.

3. The story very powerfully suggests that *in life's decisions their moral aspect must be taken into account*. As he stood upon the hill of Bethel, Lot had an eye only to his worldly advantage. He thought only of the fertility of the plain, and did not realize that, if he went there, his neighbors would be "wicked men and sinners against Jehovah exceedingly." He was destined to pay very dearly for his temporary prosperity; it ultimately cost him both his character and his property. Your shrewd man is often really a very blind man. The real things in life, the things that truly count, he never sees at all; and from him often is taken away even that which he hath. And the story of Lot further suggests that selfishness does not pay. It is not worth while to be mean. He dealt ungenerously with Abraham's generous offer, threw himself in with a corrupt society, and ended by having to flee for his life from a burning city.

GOD'S COVENANT WITH ABRAM: GEN. 15:1, 5-16³

LITERARY SOURCES

This section is approximately from the Jehovist document, as we learn, among other signs, from the name of the Deity, which, in vss. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8 is Jehovah. There are indications, however, that it is not quite homogeneous. For example, after the strong assertion of Abraham's faith in vs. 6, the doubt which is evidenced by vs. 8 comes somewhat as a surprise; and vs. 3, "Behold, to me thou hast given no seed," reads almost like a duplicate of vs. 2, "What wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless?" A duplicate like this suggests the presence of the Elohist document, which perhaps appears in this chapter for the first time.

³ International Sunday-School Lesson for February 24, 1907.

EXPOSITION

"The Word of Jehovah came unto Abraham" (vs. 1). This is a phrase very frequently used of the revelation that comes to the prophets; and the implication is that Abraham is a prophet, or at least regarded as such; he is expressly so called in Gen. 20:7. Such a phrase illustrates the tendency of later generations to idealize the past. The divine voice said to him: "I am thy shield, that is, I am prepared to defend thee, defenseless and in peril as thou art; and, though thou hast given up all at my bidding, home, and land and kindred, there will be a divine recompense for the sacrifice, *thy reward shall be exceeding great.*"

But his childlessness seems to Abraham a fatal barrier to the promised blessing (vss. 2-4). His faith, however, is reinforced by a vision of the splendid star-hung sky. In the night, as he looks up to it, he receives the assurance that, despite all seeming, his descendants shall be numberless as the stars. It was a daring thing to believe—to a childless man, daring to the point of incredibility; nevertheless, *he did believe in Jehovah*, or, more simply, *he trusted*. And this simple trust was reckoned to him by God for righteousness; that is, it stamped him as the right kind of religious man—his piety was piety indeed. The tense of the Hebrew verb implies that Abraham often, regularly, or habitually trusted his God. That was the drift of his life. This exhibition of his faith was only one of many; in particular, the author was probably thinking of that other great crisis in his life when *by faith he went out, not knowing whither he went*.

Vss. 7 and 8 may, as we have seen, come from another source. The doubt is surprising, though one could hardly say impossible, after so transcendent an exhibition of faith. In any case, the passage in its present setting is impressive, and contains a profound religious truth. No sign is given to the unbelieving; but the faithful may receive one, in order that faith may be strengthened. To him that hath shall be given.

In vss. 9 and 10 the promise is represented as being definitely confirmed by a covenant, and the covenant is made and expressed in the terms of ancient sacrifice; at least the animals were those which later law, and no doubt earlier custom, prescribed for use in sacrifice. The contracting parties walked between the pieces of the slaughtered animals, pronouncing upon the one who broke the covenant some such curse as this: "May God hew the traitor in pieces as these animals have been hewn." Obviously the terms of such a covenant are not literally applicable to Jehovah; but it finely suggests the reality of the intimacy between Abraham and his God, and the sureness of the divine purpose. Fierce attempts would be made to thwart that purpose—these are symbolized by the swooping down of the

birds of prey upon the carcasses; but, though fierce, the assaults would not be fatal, for Abraham succeeded in driving the vultures away.

Vss. 12-16 elaborate and explain the point made in vs. 11; and the eerie impression created by that verse is sustained in vs. 12. The vision comes after sunset, in accordance with an ancient idea which associates the Deity with darkness; and its powerful effect upon Abraham is aptly suggested in vs. 12*b*. The words of the vision, in the original version, are probably contained in vs. 18; the words in vss. 13-16, which are probably later than the context, form a brief résumé of the story of Egyptian bondage and deliverance. This is to occupy four generations of a hundred years each. By that time the iniquity of the native inhabitants of Palestine would be ripe for a swift and terrible chastisement.

APPLICATION

The general theme of this passage is *faith—its essence, obstacles, and triumph*. Its essence can be best understood in the light of the obstacles it has to encounter and overcome. Abraham cherished high hopes of the future in his heart, but his childlessness seemed to present an insuperable obstacle to their realization. Nevertheless, "he trusted in Jehovah;" and it was this trust in the face of seemingly insuperable obstacles, this believing where he did not see, that won him the divine approval. This, then, is the essence of faith: cherishing a belief, unshaken and unshakable, in the purpose of God, once that purpose is understood. And it is precisely this faith, this simple, childlike trust, according to vs. 6, that is the essence of religion.

What a profound insight into life and religion those ancient biblical writers had! They knew well that the path of the good man lies through disappointment, and sometimes opposition—in a word, through suffering. When some great piece of work is going on, down swoop the vultures, and they do what they can to interrupt or obstruct it. Such is life; the birds of prey are never far away.

But by the man of faith the obstacles can be overcome. "The birds of prey came down upon the carcasses, *but Abraham drove them away*." This is a fine and graphic symbol of the ultimate triumph of faith and of the divine purpose. Israel might be oppressed and afflicted in a foreign land, but in the fourth generation they would "come hither again." The man who identifies himself with the divine purpose, who trusts it, loves it, lives for it, works for it and with it, is the man who, in the deepest sense, succeeds. If God be for us, who and what can be against us?

ABRAHAM PLEADING FOR SODOM: GEN. 18:16-33⁴

LITERARY SOURCES

This chapter, as a whole, is from the Jehovist document (vs. 19), but there are traces that it is not quite homogeneous. According to vs. 17, the destruction of Sodom appears to be practically decided upon; according to vs. 21, the decision still hangs in the balance. The passage we have to deal with appears to be later than vss. 1-15. It is more formal and less graphic in style; it does not move with the same ease or rapidity, or exhibit the same variety, but creates the impression that the writer, and no doubt some of his contemporaries, are wrestling with a problem. Under what conditions, for example, may a wicked city be spared? Will the righteousness of a few be efficacious to save it? On the other hand, if it be destroyed, are the innocent to perish with the guilty? This is one of the points of interest in the passage, that it gives us a glimpse into contemporary discussion, and into the religious problems that were agitating the minds of men. The story of Abraham's intercession is told with some formality, yet with considerable skill. It is obvious, of course, that such a dialogue between God and a man cannot be interpreted quite literally. But this literary medium is admirably used to illustrate the character of Abraham and the character of God.

EXPOSITION

The object of vss. 16-22 is to illustrate the uniqueness and importance of Abraham; he enjoys the singular honor of having the divine purpose directly communicated to him. Here again, as in 15:1, the implication is that Abraham is a prophet. "Jehovah does nothing without revealing his secret to his servants the prophets" (Am. 3:7); therefore he will not hide from Abraham the thing which he will do. All the more will he reveal his purposes to Abraham, as he is to occupy so unique a position in the religious history of the world. In him the foundations of the true religion are to be laid, and "all nations are to be blessed through him" (vs. 18). This blessing would be secured through the family which Abraham was destined to found and which must therefore be trained to keep the way of Jehovah, and to do right and justice. "I have known him," in vs. 19, practically means, "I have chosen him," for this purpose.

In vs. 20 the cry of Sodom is the cry concerning Sodom. The idea of God underlying vs. 21 is very primitive. To inform himself of the facts, he has to *go down* to Sodom—very different from Ps. 139, where God is worshiped as everywhere present. There is a rabbinical tradition to the

⁴ International Sunday-School Lesson for March 3, 1907.

effect that vs. 22*b* originally ran: "but Jehovah stood before Abraham." If this be so, it must have been altered to our present text from motives of reverence.

Abraham intercedes for Sodom (vss. 23-33). Abraham's whole attitude throughout this intercession is one of intense reverence and humility. Throughout it he calls the Deity, not Jehovah, but Lord, and indicates thereby his sense of the divine majesty. He speaks of himself as "dust and ashes" (vs. 27); he fears the divine anger for his seeming presumption—twice he says: "Oh, let not the Lord be angry." He moves from petition to petition with a trembling sense of the greatness of his request and the awful majesty of the God whom he supplicates. And that God he feels to be at once a God of justice and of mercy; it is these two elements in the divine nature that condition and inspire the prayer. At the very beginning, Abraham dwells on the justice of God—a justice with which the destruction of the innocent would be incompatible. "That be far from thee: shall not the *judge* of all the earth *do justice*?" This translation represents the play upon the Hebrew words more adequately than the common English translation.

But more: the God to whom he prays he believes to be also a merciful God. Strict justice would demand the obliteration of so wicked a city; but, for the sake of the good men who are in it, God may be willing to pardon it; and the answers ascribed to God in the dialogue suggest that, in this belief, Abraham does not deceive himself. Notice, too, how after the first success Abraham's confidence increases. At first he lowers his original number by five, but on every subsequent occasion by ten. That there were not even ten righteous persons within the city is intended to suggest how utter was its depravity, and how thoroughly justified was its doom. The writer, however, leaves the problem which he is discussing unsolved. If there were any righteous people in it at all, what is to become of them? The question with which he starts is as relevant at the end as at the beginning: "Wilt thou consume the righteous with the wicked? Shall not the judge of all the earth do justice?" The problem does, indeed, receive a practical solution in the sequel, and the author is of course, not obliged to go beyond his own story; but the theoretical problem still remains. That the question is raised at all, however, shows a comparatively advanced stage of religious reflection; for in more ancient times the family, the clan, the tribe, or the city was regarded as an indivisible whole. The unit was not the individual, but the community; the individual, although personally innocent, was held to be implicated in the guilt, and therefore in the doom, of the larger whole of which he formed a part. The story before us shows

that this view was beginning to be challenged as morally inadequate or unsatisfactory.

APPLICATION

Behind the first section (vss. 16-22) lies the idea that *God reveals his purpose to the men who trust him*. The will of God is not an external law, nor does it come to men by magical means. The power to understand it is conditioned by the desire to understand it. Any true insight into the meaning of life's providences, any profound interpretation of the world, will depend, in the last resort, on character. The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him; it is to them that he whispers his purposes by the way.

The narrative in vss. 22-33 suggests thoughts both about the nature (a) of God and (b) of man.

a) God has a deadly hatred of sin. A city so wicked is a blot upon his fair creation, and deserves to be swept out of the world. But the divine justice is double-edged; the impenitent sinner it will destroy, but the good man it will save. And it will not only save him, but perhaps others also for his sake. Here we get a glimpse into the vicarious power of goodness. The divine mercy is also illustrated by the readiness to pardon and spare. This is the crowning truth of the Old Testament, and the heart of the biblical message that God is "merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abundant in lovingkindness and truth, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin" (cf. Ex. 34:6, 7). The passage further suggests that God is a hearer and answerer of prayer.

b) The ideal man, such as Abraham, will be a man of prayer, of pleading, persistent, large-hearted, intercessory prayer. This attitude of "beating God down," as someone has called it, is not to be imitated; but many other features of the prayer are worthy of all imitation—its generosity, its nobility, its earnestness, its intelligent view of God, its reverence, its humility; for before the Judge of all the earth the speaker feels himself to be but dust and ashes.

Current Opinion

In the *Review and Expositor* for January Professor Orr has a sane account of the prevailing tendencies in modern theology. He finds these set by monism, ritualism, criticism, the doctrine of evolution, and comparative religion. The average man is accustomed to regard most of these influences as on the whole antagonistic to anything like theological orthodoxy. Professor Orr is rather inclined to this opinion at certain points, although he is far enough from pessimism. His attitude as regards evolution is particularly interesting in view of the fact that the doctrine is being utilized by many men like Tennant and Lodge to help understand sin. Professor Orr declares that the more he reflects on the subject, "the less does he feel it possible to obtain the true scriptural idea of sin out of the hypothesis of man's gradual development from the bestial condition, and his start-off in existence from a point only a degree removed from unrelieved brutishness."

This opinion may be just, but it is well to bear in mind that the question of the origin of sin is one of fact rather than of adjustment to a man's views as to Scripture.

Sooner or later we shall be obliged to square up theology at this point with the results of science. Until these results are at hand we must do the best we can with working hypotheses, and among these evolution deserves at least respectful attention.

What Is Reformed Judaism?

In the *Methodist Review* (quarterly) is an article by Rabbi H. G. Enelow setting forth the significance of Reformed Judaism. The author describes it as a genuine democracy, in which every congregation is its own master and every rabbi is responsible to no one but himself for his beliefs and utterances. There is a unity of convictions and of ideals, but not of ecclesiastical authority. The ground-work of Reformed Judaism consists of the leading teachings of the prophets: (1) belief in one God; (2) belief in the selection of Israel as a messenger of God and of righteousness to the world; (3) belief in the messianic age, the perfectibility and progress of the human race; (4) belief in the dignity and the moral responsibility of the individual and in immortality.

Rabbi Enelow further calls attention to the importance to Reformed Judaism of observing the holy days, which serve as a means of preserving

the ties of Jewish fellowship. Reformed Judaism, he insists, refuses to shoulder any responsibility for the sad death of Jesus, which was "the result of the complexity and perplexity, largely political, of his time." At the same time he notices the tendency toward the *rapprochement* between the representatives of Christianity and his own theology.

Sir Oliver Lodge on Psychical Research.

Sir Oliver Lodge, who has lately come into prominence as a writer upon the relations of religion and science, contributes to the *Homiletic Review* for January a discriminating and cautious article on "The Influence of Psychical Research on Religious Belief." He does not say very much about psychical research and religious belief, but he does touch upon a number of interesting subjects, particularly miracles. One paragraph is worth quoting:

It seems to me, therefore, that the persistent effort that is being made, in what are at present rather unorthodox and pioneering departments of science, to investigate and bring into the ordered universe such of the occult and abnormal phenomena as it may find to be capable of repetition and examination today, may indirectly aid that real religious revival to which we look forward: the signs of which indeed we already perceive, in the disinclination to accept a mechanical interpretation of the world or to recognize any well-defined limit to the future expansion and development of human nature. Indeed, a number of asserted facts which at present seem to be wholly outside the province of ordered knowledge, and to belong solely to the territory of faith, are bound to be either extruded and extinguished, or else enveloped and incorporated, as the boundaries of science expand.

This last sentence is worth considering. It is increasingly becoming our custom to insist that religion and science occupy mutually exclusive fields. It may be that this is the case, but they are not unrelated fields. The extension of the one is likely to effect the reduction of the other. The Christian beliefs like those in the miraculous birth of Christ and of the resurrection of the body must certainly be affected by biology. It may be that some day we shall see that religion is a higher form of science—a sort of pioneer which by faith blazes the way for knowledge.

Work and Workers

THE Palestine Travel Study Class of the University of Chicago will sail February 2 for Alexandria with twenty-five members. The first part of the time will be devoted to a trip to the Sinai country, going via Tor and returning by land. Three weeks will be spent in camp, after leaving Jerusalem, during which time all the important sites of Palestine, and several others not often reached, will be visited. The return will be via Ephesus, Constantinople, Athens, Corinth, and Italy. Class-work will be carried on throughout the journey, and the services of resident teachers and missionaries in the places visited will add to the value of the work. The class, like that of three years ago, is conducted by Professor Herbert L. Willett.

THE first volume of the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, edited by Rev. James Hastings, D. D., is now ready. The purpose of the *Dictionary* is to give an account of everything that relates to Christ, his person, life, work, and teaching. It is entirely independent of the *Dictionary of the Bible*, though dealing in part with the same topics. It is intended primarily for preachers, and the authors of the articles have been carefully chosen among those scholars, both British and American, who are or have been, themselves preachers. Professor M'Pheeters writes of "Authority in Religion;" Professor Bacon, of "Alpha and Omega;" Professor Marcus Dods, on "Inspiration;" Professor Sanday, on "The Virgin Birth;" Professor Johannes Weiss, on "Passion Week."

SOME indications of the possibilities of Bible teaching by the lecture-study method may be found in the fact that during the summer and autumn of 1906 there were delivered under the auspices of the Lecture-Study Department of the University Extension Division of the University of Chicago twenty-three courses of lectures on Biblical literature, history, and theology in as many different communities. The majority of these courses have consisted of six lectures each, though some were of greater length. In subject-matter the courses are distributed as follows; five on the Old Testament; fifteen on the New Testament; and three dealing with general phases of Bible history, literature, and theology. Seven of these courses of lectures have been given in Chicago. Others are distributed as follows: five courses of six lectures each in different cities in California; one course in Seattle, Wash; two courses in Minneapolis,

Minn. (one at the State University); two courses in Grand Rapids, Mich.; one in Milwaukee, Wis.; one in Wauwatosa, Wis.; one in Freeport, Ill.; one in Normal, Ill.; and one in Terre Haute, Ind. The lecturers were Professors Shailer Mathews, Richard G. Moulton, Gerald B. Smith, Theodore G. Soares, and Herbert L. Willett. Among the subjects most frequently called for are "The Beginnings of Christianity," "The Life of Christ," "The Life and Work of the Apostle Paul," "Masterpieces of Biblical Literature," and "The History of Prophecy." A circular containing full announcement of forty different courses on biblical subjects will be mailed upon application to Mr. Walter A. Payne, Secretary of the Lecture-Study Department.

Two volumes of Old Testament and Semitic studies to be published in memory of President William R. Harper are in course of preparation and will be issued next autumn. The contributors include twenty-six of the leading Semitic scholars of this country. The volumes are issued under the editorship of Professor R. F. Harper, of the University of Chicago; Professor George F. Moore, of Harvard University; and Professor Francis Brown, of Union Theological Seminary. The unanimity and heartiness with which the Semitic scholars of America have responded to the invitation to contribute articles to these volumes are a striking testimonial to the high esteem in which President Harper was held by all his colleagues.

MR. R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, M.A., formerly an assistant in the department of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, has accepted an appointment as Assistant Professor in the department of Semitic languages and literatures of the University of Chicago, and has already taken up his new duties. Mr. Thompson is widely known among scholars for his valuable volumes of Assyrian texts and translations.

PROFESSOR JAMES H. BREASTED's series of four volumes containing the historical inscriptions of Egypt is soon to be supplemented, and to have its contents rendered accessible to all students, by the publication of a fifth volume, furnishing full indices to the materials in the preceding volumes.

Book Reviews

The Authority of Christ. By DAVID W. FORREST. London: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribners, 1906. Pp. 437. \$2 net.

This volume purports to be a historical study of the authority of Christ. The first chapter deals with the nature and sphere of Christ's unique authority, which is grounded on the absolute sinlessness and mediatorship of Jesus. The second chapter deals with the limitations of this authority as they are due to Christ's articulation into humanity and history and to the reality of his moral growth. His unbroken communion with God makes him authority on God and duty, but not on questions of science or biblical criticism. In the succeeding chapters the author seeks to expound the teaching of Jesus upon God, individual and corporate duty, and human destiny. He abandons the strict biblical realm at times, and discusses with considerable clearness and ability the relation of church and state, and the place of religious education in the public schools. Dr. Forrest maintains throughout the older conservative positions. He thinks that Christ regarded his kingdom as a present power with gradual growth, and rejected the catastrophic conceptions of Jewish apocalyptic, though in this matter the disciples evidently did not understand him. He taught, however, a final judgment as a consummation of the kingdom, and this is a demand of our reason and faith.

One cannot help but wonder how the disciples, who knew the Lord so intimately, should so misunderstand him; and, further, whether we are to accept the statement about the final judgment because Jesus made it, or because it appeals to reason and faith. Suppose that my faith does not necessitate this belief, and that my reason finds as much difficulty in the concept of a finished and consummated kingdom as in one of eternal process, must I accept the former because Jesus taught it? If Jesus had not scientific knowledge, just how far did his limitations extend? Is it possible that there are limitations to his ethical ideas and his views of human destiny? Our author is very vague, and never discusses this real problem in the authority of Christ.

The last chapter deals with the Holy Spirit, and points out how through the Spirit of the new life the disciples were able in social and ethical problems to make decisions of originality and freedom, and yet with the conviction of the divine leading.

It is to be regretted that there is not a clearer appreciation of the psychological and ethical character of the problem. We appreciate the discussion concerning the leading of the Spirit, and welcome the statements that ground the authority of Christ upon his purity of life, his perfect fellowship with the Father, and, therefore, upon his ability to lead us into fellowship with God and moral perfection. But when this authority is referred back to an absolute sinlessness which is demonstrated (?) to be both a fact in history and a judgment of faith, and when his mediatorship is explained by a metaphysical union with God, demanding a kenotic theory of the incarnation, one doubts if there is a clear discrimination between an authority that is inner and ethical, and one that is external and coercive. Are the statements of Jesus true just because he made them, or because of their belief-producing character? Is authority grounded on the content of his message and mission, or in his metaphysical nature as the Son of God? Because of what Jesus is in history and in our lives we must always attach great importance to his statements, even those which we may not now understand; but we can actually take into our lives from him only what our faith can appropriate, what our reason approves, or our moral nature demands, or what leads to spiritual elevation and communion. Let us say frankly that there can be no formal external authority, as such, for the man who has been freed by the gospel and is led by the spirit of God. We have escaped the tyranny of law, even though it may pretend sanction from the words of Christ: We "are not under law but under grace."

It is difficult to place Jesus in the philosophical scheme of Dr. Forrest, who is evidently a disciple of Lotze in his philosophy. God is Noumenon, unconditioned by time or space, with reason intuitive and not discursive, with volition realized and not subject to moral growth. Man is phenomenon, with all the limitations of time and space, of thought and will. But what is Christ? He is not a union of God and man in the sense of the old church doctrine; for that amounts to two personalities, side by side, in one. But he is not man—that is, man only; he cannot be man perfected, for he differs not only in degree, but in *kind*. We cannot conceive of him as man; we need a kenotic theory of the incarnation to assure us that God suffered in him; otherwise his sufferings would be purely human and would not assure us of a suffering God. But he has all the attributes of man; for he too is phenomenon with moral and intellectual growth, conditioned by time and space. He is "the Divine in the human." But what is man? If man is not mere illusion, if knowledge deals with reality, then the noumenal is in the phenomenal and God in man. Either this is

true, or the old church doctrine must be accepted. The problem of Christ concerns the relation of God and the world.

No more satisfactory is his kenotic theory of the incarnation. Dr. Forrest assures us that the sacrifice of Christ is not in his self-denying life and suffering death, but in the fact of the incarnation, in the limitations of humanity itself. But if he accepted all those limitations and comes entirely under the category of the human, this is not a sacrifice of the historical Jesus we know, and it is not he who saves. For such limitations would involve ignorance of that sacrifice, and the cord of memory between the two existences must be absolutely cut; that is, the human Jesus is a distinct personality. Or, if there is in his consciousness the knowledge of his pre-existent state and glory and power, and of his mission as viewed by the pre-existent Son of God, then we have an element in his consciousness that makes an actual interpretation of him impossible and leads to the early heresy of docetism.

This book is reverent and conservative. It concedes considerable to modern criticism, and will probably be read with profit by a section of the church whose orthodoxy would preclude a more thorough discussion. But it has no new message, it makes no real addition to biblical or dogmatic theology, and I doubt if it proves of great value to the scholarly world.

W. C. KEIRSTEAD

WOODSTOCK, N. B.

The Disciple and His Lord; or, Twenty-six Days with Jesus. By REV. J. S. KIRTLEY, D.D. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1906. Pp. 254. \$0.60.

The studies which compose this unpretentious volume were originally written as one of the Christian culture courses for the B. Y. P. U., and appeared in *Service*, its official organ. At that time they attracted considerable attention, and the Publication Society preserves them in this more permanent form in the hope of increasing their favor and usefulness.

The events of the life of Jesus are, as the subtitle indicates, grouped into twenty-six studies or "days," in the main chronologically arranged. The purpose is to show the progress of Jesus' life and the logic of events and forces which culminated in Calvary. Dr. Kirtley has succeeded better in describing the several stages than he has in showing the dramatic movement of the whole. Probably the method originally imposed by the nature of his task, and the fact that the work has had no revision, may account for this.

Several qualities commend the book. It is written in clear and simple

language. The author so expresses himself that it is generally difficult to mistake his meaning, though an ambiguous sentence is occasionally found. The book abounds in striking antitheses and sententious expressions. The style reveals the forceful speaker rather than the teacher or writer. There is a certain ease of treatment which at first glance suggests superficiality, but closer observation discovers that it is rather due to the fact that Dr. Kirtley has carefully studied his material and knows just what he desires to say. His scholarship is good; his spirit is quite above criticism.

Three counts do not impress the present reviewer favorably. Dr. Kirtley occasionally extracts from the gospels statements which they certainly do not contain. In certain matters of chronology and antiquities he seems to have ignored some of the best recent work. A mechanical conception of God's plan for Jesus' life which occasionally obtrudes itself leads to some gratuitous and unconvincing assertions. Yet, in spite of these strictures, the book will prove an easy and helpful guide to the class for whom it was written, and is to be commended both for spirit and content. It certainly is deserving of a better map. The present insertion cheapens the book and discredits the society that publishes it.

J. W. BAILEY

FAIRBURY, ILL.

The Book of Job in the Revised Version. Edited, with Introductions and Brief Annotations, by S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1906. Pp. xxxvi + 33. \$0.85.

The Book of Job. By REV. JAMES AITKEN, M.A., Minister of Onslow Presbyterian Church, Wellington, New Zealand. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906. Pp. 114. \$0.45.

The purpose of Canon Driver's work is to make the Book of Job intelligible to an ordinary educated reader. This object has been most successfully accomplished. The text of the Revised Version has been divided throughout into paragraphs, with the argument of the poem prefixed to each. And thus the course of thought of the Book of Job, which to many, as they read it in an ordinary Bible, is obscure and almost unintelligible, becomes clear and apparent.

Brief notes also are given on each word or passage which seemed not perfectly plain. Special attention has been paid to the marginal readings of the Revised Version, and the fact is emphasized that these are equally a part of the Revision with the changes incorporated into the text. Of the alternative readings as far as possible it has been indicated which are to be preferred. In a limited number of cases also renderings beyond those

given in the Revised Version have been mentioned, if they appear to be probable or to improve the sense; but the reader is spared the confusion of a multitude of conjectures.

The text explained is not the original Hebrew, but the Revised Version; hence a glossary is given of the obsolete or unfamiliar words of that version, and this edition of the Book of Job resembles in a large degree student editions of the plays of Shakespeare or other English classics, and might have a place equally with them in the study of English literature as well as of biblical.

In regard to the date and integrity of the poem, Canon Driver is in line with the great majority of scholars who place it not far from the exile—most probably within the century which began with the return from Babylon in 538 B. C.

He finds also difficulty in regarding the panegyric on Wisdom (chap. 28) and the speeches of Elihu (chaps. 32-37) parts of the original poem, and also calls attention to the difficulty of considering 17:7-10, 13-23, an utterance of Job, and thinks it would have been perfectly suitable in Zophar's mouth. The difficulty, however, of the consistency of the prologue and epilogue with the remainder of the book is passed over, and no mention is made of the relief given by the theory that these may have been the survivals of an older Book of Job in which Job had been uncomplaining and his friends had questioned the rectitude of the government of God. This theory as a solution of the riddle of the uncomplaining man of 2:10 uttering his bitter protests against God's treatment of him, and of the statement that the three friends "had not spoken the thing that is right as my servant Job hath" (42:7), is worthy of a place in such an edition of the Book of Job, even if not approved by the editor.

The Book of Job by Rev. James Aiken is a handbook for Bible classes, with exactly the same purpose as the volume of Canon Driver, and is written from the same critical point of view. It has a good introduction, provides the poem equally with an analysis and argument, and has similar brief explanatory notes with marginal and new renderings. The text of the Revised Version, however, is not given; but the *student* who uses this volume is recommended to note, if possible, in his own Bible the corrections made in the text, and particularly to mark the divisions into paragraphs. And it is said: "If he were to take the trouble to write out the whole text embodying those corrections and divisions, and setting the summaries as marginalia down the side, he would find himself amply rewarded."

E. L. CURTIS

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS

GARDINER, J. H. *The Bible as English Literature*. New York: Scribner, 1906. Pp. xi+402.

This book is prepared from the point of view of the student of English literature. Hence the King James Version of the Bible is made the basis of study. The established results of modern biblical study are kept in mind and the canons of literary criticism are not made to run counter to those of historical criticism. The book has grown out of classroom work at Harvard, and constitutes an admirable manual for the use of students.

SELLECK, W. C. *The New Appreciation of the Bible: A Study of the Spiritual Outcome of Biblical Criticism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907. Pp. xiii+409. \$1.50.

This book attempts to furnish an answer to the doubts of the many people who look upon the methods and results of modern biblical criticism with fear and trembling. The author is deeply convinced of the legitimacy of the new methods and unhesitatingly declares that the new view is far more vital than the old. The first half of the book is devoted to an explanation of the nature and significance of biblical criticism; the second half shows how the Bible gains in value for practical, everyday religion when interpreted in the new light.

DRIVER, S. R. *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah: A Revised Translation, with Introduction and Short Explanations*. New York: Scribner, 1906. Pp. lvi+382. \$1.50.

This is a reprint of the translations and notes published in the *Expositor* between November, 1902, and August, 1904. To that original material are added the translation of the remainder of Jeremiah with brief notes, and an introduction to the Book of Jeremiah. The explanatory notes are very brief, but clear; the introduction is ample for a work of this kind; and the translation is made anew from a carefully emended text, and characterized by clearness and accuracy. With this book in hand it should be a pleasure to any one to read the prophecy of Jeremiah.

MCFADYEN, J. E. *The Prayers of the Bible*. New York: Armstrong, 1906. Pp. xii+388.

This book is divided into four parts, dealing respectively with "The Prayers of the Bible," "Modern Prayer," "The Prayers of the Bible Collected and Classified," and "Biblical Prayers for Modern Use." It is a timely contribution to the understanding of the devotional elements in the Bible by an interpreter thoroughly in sympathy with the modern scientific and historical spirit.

HULLEY, LINCOLN. *Studies in the Book of Psalms*. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1906. Pp. 178.

These are the lectures with which the author has captivated Chautauquas and summer assemblies. They are now given to a wider public, but the printed page will hardly receive as hearty a welcome and indorsement as did the spoken lectures.

BROWN, C. R. *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah: A New and Critical Translation*. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1906. Pp. 48.

ADAMS, JOHN. *Sermons in Accents, or Studies in the Hebrew Text. A Book for Preachers and Students*. New York: Scribner, 1906. \$1.80.

An attempt to make Hebrew accentuation interesting and helpful to the average preacher and Bible student, for whom Wickes' treatises are too elaborate and wearisome. As an introductory manual preparatory to the use of a more thorough and complete treatment the work may be recommended to the student beginning his studies.

BUDDE, K. *Geschichte der althebräischen Literatur. Mit einem Anhang: Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, von A. BERTHOLET. Leipzig: Amelang, 1906. Pp. xvi+433. M. 7.50.

A valuable history of the literature of the Old Testament by one of the leaders of modern biblical science in Germany. It differs in method from

such works as Driver's *Introduction* in that it traces the growth of the Hebrew literature from the beginning to the end of the literary activity of the Hebrews; that is, it treats the literature as an organic whole rather than as a collection of books.

ARTICLES

SAYCE, A. H. The Chedor-laomer Tablets. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, December, 1906, pp. 241-51.

The continuation of an article begun in the previous number. This instalment comprises the transliteration and translation of texts in which the name Chedor-laomer appears.

KÖBERLE, J. Orientalische Mythologie und biblische Religion. *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, December, 1906, pp. 897-921.

The closing portion of an article begun in the previous number of the *Zeitschrift* and listed in our last issue.

KÖNIG, ED. Weissagung und Erfüllung. *Ibid.*, pp. 922-43.

A discussion of the fulfilment of prophetic predictions, especially those related to the coming of the Messiah.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

HUCK, A. Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien. Dritte, gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflage. Tübingen: Mohr, 1906. Pp. xxxviii+208. M. 5.

This useful harmony of the Synoptic Gospels now appears in a new form, with somewhat extended prolegomena, chiefly text-critical. The changes in the plan of the work facilitate comparison of all parallel passages, and yet preserve to some extent for each gospel its own order of treatment, by repeating passages differently placed by different evangelists.

JENKS, JEREMIAH W. The Political and Social Significance of the Life and Teachings of Jesus. New York: International Committee of Y. M. C. A., 1906. Pp. xviii+168.

This is not a book to read, but a manual for study. About a series of twelve topics Professor Jenks groups references for reading, suggestive quotations, and stimulating comment, such as must have made his course on this subject, given before a Y. M. C. A. class at Cornell, both interesting and valuable. Many will be interested to observe the teachings of Jesus from the point of view of a leading political economist of today.

BEECHER, WILLIS J. The Teaching of Jesus concerning the Future Life. New York: American Tract Society, 1906. Pp. 197. \$0.75.

Professor Beecher's book compares rather favor-

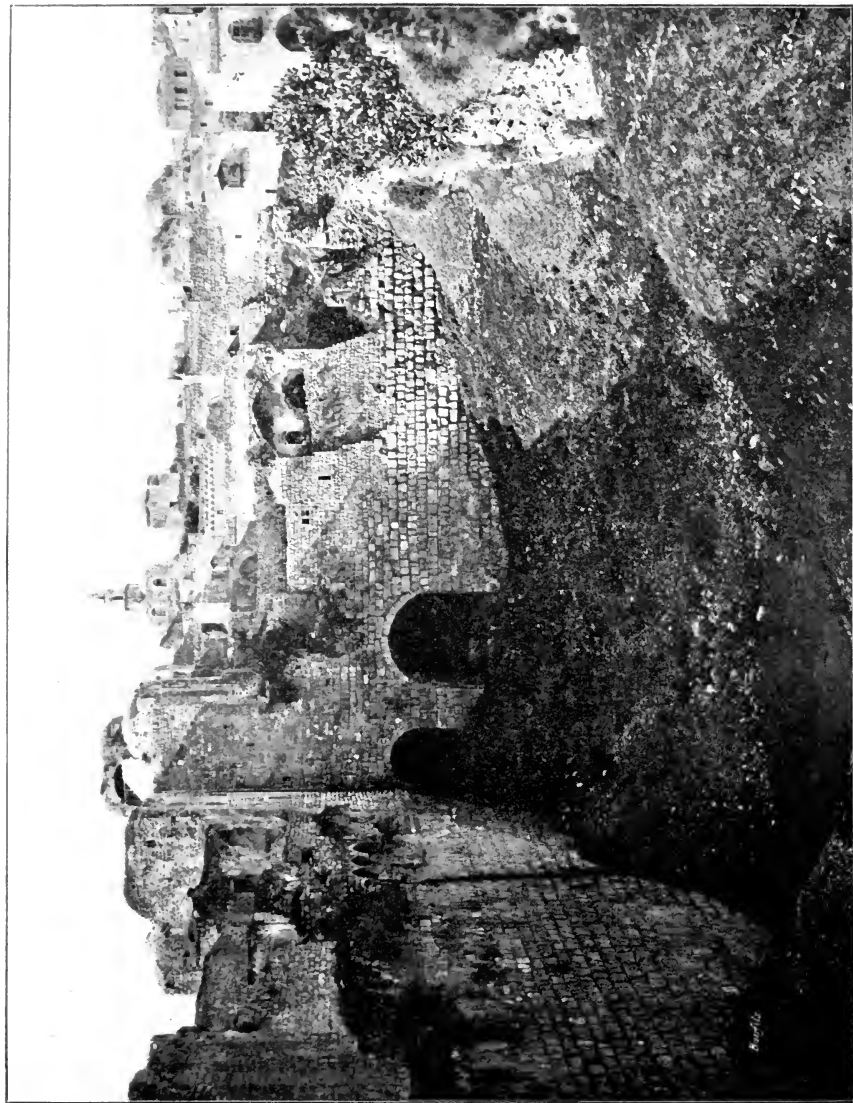
ably with some other volumes in Dr. Kerr's "Teaching of Jesus" series, by reason of its moderate tone and serious method. No book upon this difficult subject can altogether satisfy, but Professor Beecher has treated it with learning, discrimination, and skill.

RAMSAY, W. M. Pauline and Other Studies in Early Christian History. New York: Armstrong, 1906. Pp. xi+415.

Most of these fifteen essays, studies, and reviews on biblical, archaeological, or literary matters have previously appeared in various English journals, indeed but one is altogether new. The collection is rather miscellaneous, but is doubtless intended to preserve these fugitive pieces of Professor Ramsay's work, many of which possess permanent value. There are numerous plates and illustrations.

SWETE, HENRY B. The Apocalypse of St. John. The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices. New York: Macmillan, 1906. Pp. ccxv+335. \$3.50.

A series of admirable introductory essays precede the slightly revised Greek text of the Apocalypse, which is richly annotated. The whole is done in Professor Swete's thorough and masterly manner. The Apocalypse is held to be essentially a literary unit, written in Domitian's later years, (90-96 A. D.), probably by John the apostle. A map, facsimiles, illustrations, and indices increase the usefulness of this notable commentary.



BIRKET ISRA'ÎN

From the fourteenth century till recent times supposed to be the Pool of Bethesda. See p. 182.

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Editorial

WHAT IS THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE BIBLE?

An intelligent reader of the *Biblical World* moves the previous question. Having read some of the recent editorials in this journal concerning the effects of the historical study of the Bible, he expresses a wish that we should state clearly what the phrase itself signifies. Though we had supposed that any such statement was unnecessary for our readers, we willingly comply with this request.

The fundamental principle of the historical method is that the thought of the writer of Scripture is the meaning of Scripture. The allegorical interpreter, finding a double meaning, or, as Origen did, a threefold sense, in Scripture, regards as the chief sense that spiritual meaning which is wholly distinct from the thought of the writer as established by the historical evidence. The mystical interpreter, scorning the use of such mundane instruments as lexicon and grammar, closes his eyes that the Spirit may tell him, not what the language of the Scripture meant to the prophet that uttered it, but what it means to him, the mystic. The dogmatic interpreter, assured already by creed or tradition of what is true in the realm of religion, interprets according to the analogy of his faith—that is, in effect in harmony with his system of doctrine—rather than in accordance with the evidence that would enable him to discover the original writer's thought. All these—and there is abundant evidence of it; it is reflected even in the tenses of the verbs which they use—seek the meaning of Scripture as something largely or wholly independent of the thought that was in the mind of the writer when he wrote. Over against all these, the historical method seeks the meaning of Scripture in the thought of the writer. It does not question that a prophet

may under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit utter things far in advance of the common thought of his day, or announce principles of far wider application than he himself dreams of. It does not doubt that events have a significance beyond anything perceived by the narrator of them. It does not deny that a man of God may have foresight of the future. It does not deny but rather affirms, that the interpreter must have spiritual sympathy with the writers whom he is interpreting, if he would really apprehend and appreciate their thought, and hence that the interpreter of Scripture must himself be a man of religious experience and of spiritual guidance. But, recognizing all these things, it seeks for the meaning of Scripture, not as something separate from, but as found in, the thought of the Scripture-writer.

This simple—it would seem self-evident—principle carries with it important consequences. In the first place, the problem of the biblical student becomes at bottom a historical problem. What a man of the past thought when he wrote the book that has come down to us is a question of history. Since he expressed his thought in the language of his time, and of necessity substantially in accordance with the usages of his time, it is required of the interpreter that he shall learn what were the usages of language in that day and land in which the author wrote. Hence arises the necessity for lexicons and grammars written with the fullest and most accurate knowledge obtainable.

But lexicon and grammar, even when reasonably perfect, are after all inadequate tools of interpretation. To understand a book, one must read it in the atmosphere in which it was produced; must know the situation that gave it birth, the ends it was intended to accomplish, the counter-influences it was designed to oppose. This demands nothing less, if it be possible, than the reproduction of the civilization—the political, moral, social, religious life—from which the book sprang and in which it played its part. The messianic conceptions of New Testament writers require for their full understanding a knowledge of current Jewish messianism. The Christology of the Fourth Gospel can be understood and appreciated only when we know both Jewish and Greek philosophical thought and the effect of their contact one with another.

Not only so, but, since the real state of mind represented by a

statement depends in no small measure on the writer's relation to the facts which he narrates or the opinions which he expresses, it is demanded of the interpreter that he determine, as far as possible, not only the general habitat and atmosphere of the writer, but specifically his place in that situation and his relation to the elements of it. A statement may, for example, represent three different states of mind according as it is the assertion of an eyewitness based on immediate knowledge, or the transmitted report of one who derived it from others whom he believed to be trustworthy, or the repetition of a tradition which the writer used as the medium for the expression of ethical ideas without at all intending to affirm it as historically true. Still more clearly, a doctrinal affirmation varies greatly in significance according as it represents the common view of the writer's age, accepted by him without question, but it may be also without special thought or investigation; or a firm and passionate conviction wrought out in the white heat of personal experience and struggle. And this fact demands of the interpreter that he shall know the currents of thought under the influence of which, or in opposition to which, the writer whom he is studying wrought out and expressed his own convictions, that he may assign to his various opinions that valuation which the writer himself gave them. For the writer's valuation of his thought is as real an element of his state of mind as the bare statement of the opinion itself.

But when the effort is made thus to put each writer in that stream of intellectual life of which he was in turn product and producer, it soon becomes evident that what is really demanded is a history of the intellectual life of that nation, or those nations, in which the books of the Bible found their origin, so far at least as it relates itself in any way to that phase of their life which found expression in these books. But to accomplish this requires the setting of the biblical books in their order; determining the time and place of their origin; analyzing them, if needful, into their elements of diverse authorship and point of view; finding for each, as nearly as possible, the situation from which, and the atmosphere in which, it arose; the sources, if such there were, on which it was based; the influences from within or from without the Hebrew nation that tended to make the literature what it was, and in the light of which the author's

diverse valuation of its different elements may be ascertained. For all these are needful to the interpreter when he becomes historian; and to all these the student of the Bible is inevitably led step by step, when once he accepts the fundamental principle that the meaning of the Scripture is the thought of the Scripture-writers, and that it is his task as a Bible student to recover that thought with all possible fulness and accuracy.

So much the historical method involves in principle. And it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the legitimacy and necessity of the method itself are to be distinguished from the character of the results which any student applying the method believes he has reached. There is now, and there is likely to continue, difference of opinion on many matters of detail among scholars, all admitting the principle we have stated. Yet it is possible to indicate certain broad results of the method which would be accepted by most or all of those who have applied the method most consistently; and the statement of these may help to give to our reader the answer he desires.

Let it be observed, then, that the attempt to determine with accuracy the whole of that state of mind of the several biblical writers of which their writings are an expression and disclosure has led to the recognition of the fact that these writers are not in perfect agreement one with another, and are sometimes in disagreement with the facts. It follows, of course, that the teachings of the biblical writers cannot all be taken as addressed directly to us with divine authority. The value of each writer's message for his own time, divine guidance in the shaping and utterance of it, value for us when it is read as a message to its own time, the permanent authority of much of it just as it stands, and the permanent value of all of it for the history of biblical revelation—all these are compatible with that contradiction of their views with one another, or with facts, which historical study discovers. But such contradiction is incompatible with the authority of every part of Scripture conceived of as now spoken to us. Let two single illustrations suffice. The Old Testament statutes concerning the sabbath are irreconcilable with the teaching of Jesus, and still more so with that of Paul. Both cannot be addressed to our consciences with divine authority. The expectations and predictions of the early church and of Paul respecting the

return of Jesus were not fulfilled. A prediction which, as originally uttered, facts have discredited cannot be transferred to succeeding generations, demanding fresh credence from each as if addressed to it.

Now this fact, which we have so inadequately illustrated, but which is of far-reaching significance, carries with it the abandonment of the conception of the authority of the Bible as once commonly held by Protestants. As in the Protestant Reformation the authority of the hierarchical church was displaced by that of an inspired Bible, so now a new reformation is being wrought by the recognition of the simple principle that the thought of the Scripture-writer is the meaning of the Scripture. The doctrine that every utterance of Scripture is addressed to and authoritative for each successive generation must give place to a conception, on the one side, consistent with the facts disclosed by the study of the Scripture itself, and, on the other, sustained by experience. The duty of so formulating the doctrine of Scripture and of the basis and criterion of authority in religion is one which confronts the theological and biblical scholar today, and imperatively demands his earnest attention.

Only, lest it be supposed that religious life must wait on the theologian's accomplishment of his task, let it not be forgotten, as we have said above, that the Scriptures abound in utterances of truth, valid for all time, expressed in language as intelligible today as when they were first uttered, requiring no elaborate process of historical investigation to make clear their meaning, and no authentication save the appeal which they make to the consciences of men. For the largest and surest results in the sphere of religious life and thought there is needed the most thorough historical study. The results of such study will in time inure to the advantage of learned and simple-minded alike. But while the scholars toil at their necessary tasks, all, young and old, trained and untrained, may, if they will bring but an open mind and a ready will to the task, find in the pages of the book that which will stimulate and elevate their moral and religious lives, and become to them a veritable word of salvation.

JERUSALEM IN BIBLE TIMES

PROFESSOR LEWIS BAYLES PATON, PH.D., D.D.
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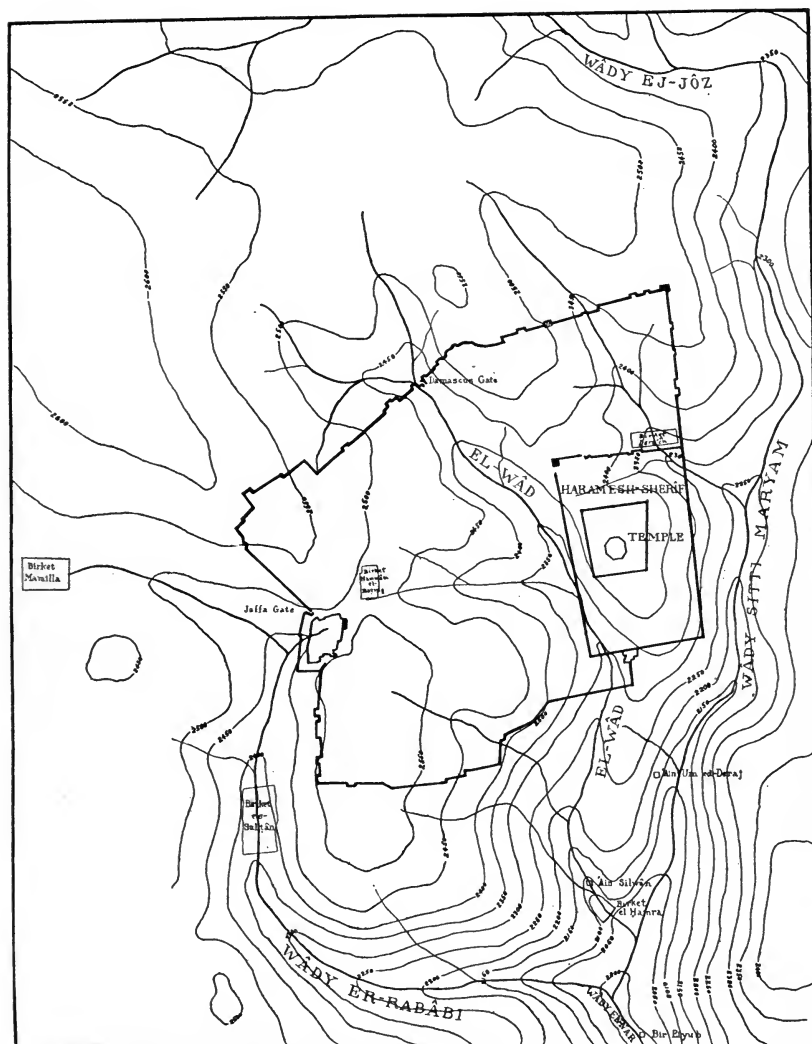
III. THE SPRINGS AND POOLS OF ANCIENT JERUSALEM

Closely connected with the question of the valleys of Jerusalem is the question of the springs and pools. There are only two real



THE VIRGIN'S FOUNTAIN

springs in the neighborhood of the city. The first of these is 'Ain Um ed-Derej, "Spring of the Mother of Steps," as it is called by the Moslems; or 'Ain Sitti Maryam, "Spring of the Lady Mary," as it is called by the Christians. This lies on the west side of the Wâdy Sitti Maryam, a short distance from the southeast corner of the modern city wall. At present the ground is so filled up with rubbish that the spring itself can be reached only by descending a flight of



THE SPRINGS AND POOLS OF JERUSALEM

steps. The rock-cut tunnel which leads from it to Siloam draws off the surplus water, so that now it never overflows. In ancient times, however, before the tunnel was constructed, it must have overflowed into the adjacent valley. Owing to some siphon-like formation of the caverns through which the water comes, this spring is intermittent, and this characteristic causes it to be regarded with superstitious reverence.



Photograph by L. B. Paton

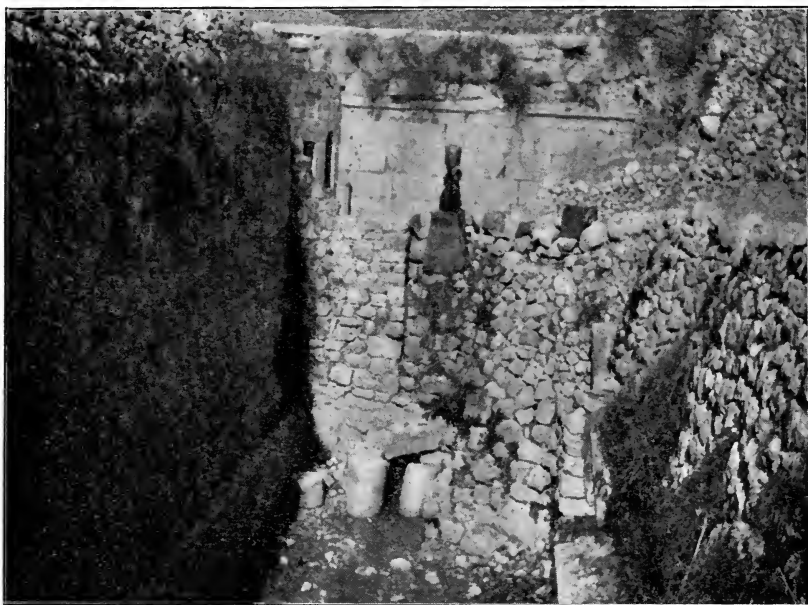
JOB'S WELL

The second spring is Bîr-Eiyûb, or "Job's Well." This lies in the Wâdy en-Nâr, a short distance below the junction of the Wâdy Sitti Maryam and the Wâdy er-Rabâbi. A deep accumulation of rubbish has buried it far beneath the present level of the ground, so that it seems more like a well than a fountain. But in the rainy season it still overflows, and in ancient times it probably ran at all seasons of the year.

Job's Well and the Virgin's Fountain are the only places near modern Jerusalem to which the name "spring" can properly be

applied. All other sources of water are reservoirs or cisterns. There is no reason to suppose that the conditions were different in ancient times; so that whatever springs are mentioned in the Old Testament will have to be identified with one or other of these two.

'Ain Silwân lies at the junction of the middle valley, El-Wâd, with Wâdy Sitti Maryam. In spite of its name, it is not a true spring, since it is fed by the tunnel from the Virgin's Fountain. In the



Photograph by L. B. Paton

'AIN SILWÂN

Jerusalem Volume of the Palestine Exploration Fund (p. 345) it is thus described:

The present pool consists of modern masonry, measuring 55 feet north and south, by 18 feet east and west, and having its bottom at a level 2,086 feet above the Mediterranean. The average depth is 20 feet, and on the north an archway 5 feet wide appears, leading to a small vault 12 feet long, in which is a descent from the level of the top of the pool to the level of the channel supplying it. This vault is modern, and the old mouth of the rock-cut channel has been stopped up on the east side of the present pool, the water now being admitted farther west under the vault. The recent explorations of Dr. Guthe prove that the pool

was originally much larger and cut in rock. On the east it probably extended to the present rocky scarp, in which a channel is now cut connecting with the lower pool, formed by a strong masonry dam at the mouth of the Tyropoeon where it opens into the Kidron valley. The date of the masonry of this dam, which is about a hundred yards southeast of the pool, is unknown; but it is extremely massive, and probably of great antiquity.

The lower pool is now known as Birket el-Ḥamra, "the Red Pool."



Photograph by L. B. Paton

BIRKET EL-ḤAMRA

It has lately been fenced with a high wall for use as a garden, and the water of the upper pool no longer flows into it.

Two large pools are formed by dams built across the Wādy er-Rabābi, or Hinnom Valley. The lower one, which lies opposite the southwest corner of the modern city wall, is 550 feet long by 220 feet broad. It is hewn out of the solid rock that forms the bottom of the valley, and the dam at the southern end is so massive that it is traversed by the carriage road that goes from Jerusalem to the railway station and to Bethlehem. It is now known as Birket es-Sulṭān, or "the Sultan's Pool." The other pool, Birket Mamilla, lies at the

head of the Wâdy er-Rabâbi in the midst of a Moslem cemetery. It is 290 feet long by 190 feet broad. It is partly hewn out of the rock and partly inclosed with walls of masonry. From it a conduit leads through the depression south of the Jaffa Gate to the so-called Patriarch's Pool in the heart of the city. There is no trace of springs in the vicinity of either of these pools, and they are supplied only by the rain-water which is gathered into them from the slopes of the valleys.



Photograph by L. B. Paton

BIRKET ES-SULTÂN

Traditionally they are identified with Upper and Lower Gihon of the Old Testament.

Birket Hammâm el-Baṭraq, or "the Pool of the Patriarch's Bath," lies a short distance east of the Jaffa Gate in the corner formed by the junction of David Street and Christian Street. It is 240 feet long by 140 feet broad. In winter it is filled with rain-water gathered in the Birket Mamilla and brought down thence through the conduit, but in summer only a little foul-smelling and dirty water remains that is a choice breeding-ground for the malarial mosquito. The

traditional Christian name for this reservoir is "the Pool of Hezekiah."

A sixth main pool lies north of the Ḥaram inclosure and is known as Birket Isra'în, or "the Pool of Israel." It lies in the bed of the west arm of the Kidron valley that traverses the northeast quarter of the city, at a depth of 68 feet below the level of the top of the Ḥaram platform. It measures 360 feet by 130. Its traditional Christian



Photograph by L. B. Paton

BIRKET MAMILLA

name is "the Pool of Bethesda." The other pools of Jerusalem are scarcely more than cisterns and do not need to be enumerated here.

It remains now to determine with which of these springs and pools the springs and pools of ancient Jerusalem are to be identified.

1. *En-Rogel*.—Two springs near Jerusalem are mentioned in the Old Testament, En-Rogel and the Gihon. These cannot have been different names for the same place, because in I Kings, chap. 1, the coronation of Adonijah takes place at En-Rogel, while that of Solomon is going on at Gihon. The name En-Rogel has been inter-

puted as meaning "the Well of the Spy" or the "Fuller's Well;" but these explanations are uncertain and, therefore, throw no light upon its location. According to Josh. 15:7; 18:16, the border-line between Judah and Benjamin went down the Valley of Hinnom as far as En-Rogel, whence it passed across the mountain eastward to En-Shemesh—that is, the "Apostles' Fountain" upon the road to Jericho. If the Hinnom be identified with the Wâdy er-Rabâbi,



THE PATRIARCH'S POOL

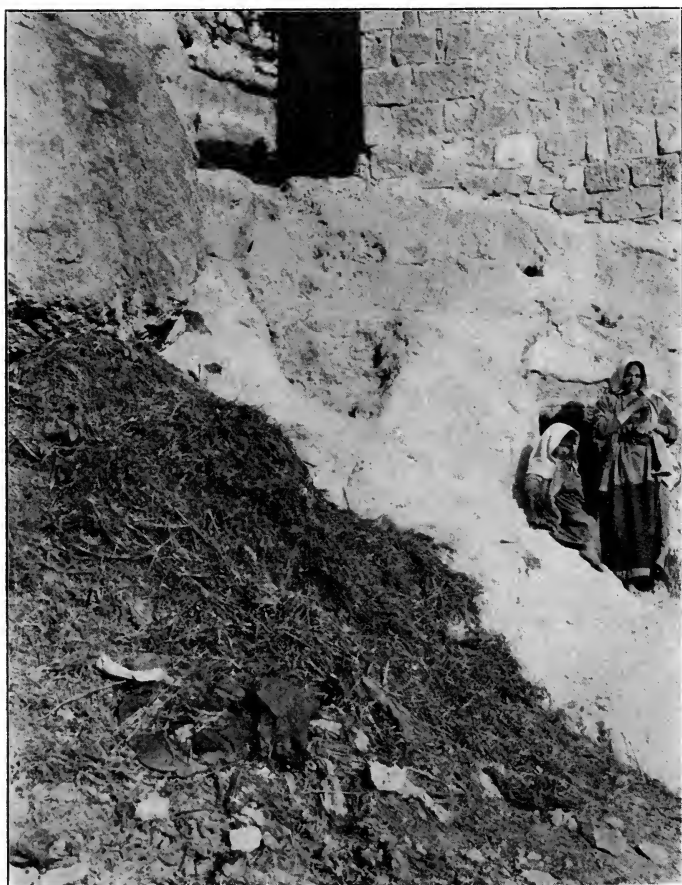
as we have seen to be most likely, then En-Rogel must be identified with Bîr-Eiyûb which lies at the mouth of this valley. It can be identified with the Virgin's Fountain only upon the hypothesis that the Hinnom is the Wâdy Sitti Maryam—a view that it is impossible to defend. Even if the theory be adopted that the Hinnom is the modern El-Wâd, En-Rogel will still have to be Bîr-Eiyûb, since this lies near the mouth of this valley.

According to II Sam. 17:17, "Jonathan and Ahimaaz stayed by En-Rogel; and a maid-servant used to go and tell them; and they

went and told King David: for they might not be seen to come into the city." These statements are much more consistent with the location of En-Rogel at Job's Well than at the Virgin's Fountain. Job's Well is near enough to Jerusalem to be reached easily on foot, and yet it is out of sight of the city around a turn in the valley. The Virgin's Fountain, which lies immediately outside of the city, and is a resort of the citizens who come to draw water, is too public a place for the spies to have chosen as a rendezvous. Bîr-Eiyûb, accordingly, meets all the conditions in the case, while the Virgin's Fountain does not meet them.

The same is true of the statement of I Kings 1:9, that "Adonijah slew sheep and oxen and fatlings by the stone of Zoheleth, which is beside En-Rogel; and he called all his brethren the king's sons, and all the men of Judah the king's servants." Adonijah wished to select a place near enough to Jerusalem for him to gather his forces easily and to seize the city quickly after he had been proclaimed king. At the same time, he was anxious to be sufficiently far away to have his movements unobserved until the *coup d'état* was effected. Bîr-Eiyûb meets all the conditions; it is accessible to Jerusalem, and yet is out of sight of the city. Springs from time immemorial were holy places in the estimation of the ancient Hebrews, and consequently this was an appropriate spot for the killing of sacrifices and the inauguration of a king. The only objection that can be made to this identification is the mention of the "stone Zoheleth which is beside En-Rogel." In the modern village of Silwân, which lies east of the Virgin's Fountain, Clermont-Ganneau discovered that a steep rock up which the women carry their water-skins is known by the name of Zaḥwêleh, which is etymologically a possible equivalent of the Hebrew Zoheleth. On this* he based the theory that En-Rogel is the adjacent Virgin's Fountain. This view has been followed by Warren and Conder, but the evidence is insufficient to prove the theory. The name Zaḥwêleh is used by Palestinian villagers for any slide or steep declivity, so that there is nothing to connect it with the particular stone Zoheleth mentioned in I Kings 1:9. Moreover, the stone Zoheleth was evidently an altar on which Adonijah sacrificed sheep and oxen, while the Zaḥwêleh is a sort of staircase ascending the cliff. Even if the identity of the name Zaḥwêleh with

Zohēleth can be established, there are so many instances of the shifting of names from one locality to another that no certain conclusions can be based upon this identification. There is no reason, therefore,



Photograph by L. B. Paton

THE ZAHWÊLAH IN THE VILLAGE OF SILWÂN

why one should depart from the conclusion demanded by the passages just cited, that En-Rogel is identical with Bîr-Eiyûb.

2. *The Gihon*.—If En-Rogel is Bîr-Eiyûb, then Gihon must be the other of the two modern springs of Jerusalem—namely, the Virgin's Fountain. This identification is confirmed by all the Old

Testament references. The name Gihon means "gusher." This is applicable only to an intermittent spring, such as the Virgin's Fountain. Nowhere in the Old Testament is Gihon specifically called a "spring," but its name is sufficient evidence of its character, and Josephus (*Ant.*, vii, 14:5) calls it a "fountain." It is first mentioned in I Kings 1:33 at the time of Adonijah's attempted revolution, when David commanded his servants to bring Solomon down to Gihon and there anoint him king. Near by were Adonijah and his company at En-Rogel, who heard the shouts of the people with Solomon and scattered in confusion. David had no reason for fearing to send his son to be crowned at the nearest spring, so that, if Adonijah selected the more remote En-Rogel, he would naturally select the Virgin's Fountain. This was convenient to the city and was doubtless just as holy as En-Rogel. The turn in the valley prevented the conspirators with Adonijah from seeing any thing that went on at the Virgin's Fountain, but when the new king was greeted with shouts, the distance was so short that they heard the noise. All the conditions of the story are met, accordingly, by the assumption that En-Rogel, where Adonijah was, was Bîr-Eiyûb, and Gihon, where Solomon was, was the Virgin's Fountain. The theories of Robinson, Lewin, and Warren which identify Gihon with the tank of stagnant water known as Birket es-Sultân or with Birket Mamilla, the other reservoir on the west side of the city, fail to recognize that Gihon was a spring, and that these reservoirs are too far away from En-Rogel for Adonijah to have heard anything that went on at them. These pools are probably both of late origin; but even if they were ancient, there was nothing about them to make them holy places to which a king would be taken for coronation.

In II Chron. 32:30 we are told that "Hezekiah also stopped the upper outflow of the waters of Gihon and brought them straight down to the west side of the City of David." This passage implies that the Gihon was a fountain, and hence forbids its identification with any reservoir. It states that Hezekiah stopped the overflow of this spring outside of the city and brought the water to the west side of the City of David. It is impossible to refer this to anything else than a blocking-up of an old watercourse still visible on the surface of the ground outside of the city wall, and the construction of the tunnel

through the rock which now conducts the water of the Virgin's Fountain to the Pool of Silwân. This tunnel is also referred to in II Kings 18:17; 20:20; Isa. 22:9, 11; II Chron. 32:4.

In II Chron. 33:14 we are told that "Manasseh built an outer wall to the City of David, on the west side of Gihon in the brook." The *nahal*, or "brook," as we have seen, is the name constantly applied to the valley of the Kidron, or Wâdy Sitti Maryam. If Gihon lay in the Kidron valley, it must be identified with the Virgin's Fountain.

3. *The Pool of Siloam*.—The name Shiloah, or Siloam, is the exact equivalent of Silwân, the name now applied to the pool at the mouth of El-Wâd that is fed by the tunnel from the Virgin's Fountain. All the ancient references agree with this identification. Isa. 8:6 speaks of "the waters of Shiloah that go softly." In Neh. 3:15 the Pool of Shelah, or Siloam, is mentioned as lying between the Fountain Gate and the King's Garden. The Fountain Gate is known to have been situated at the southern extremity of the city, and the King's Garden was the fertile, well-watered tract that lies at the junction of the Tyropoeon Valley with the valley of the Kidron. Siloam is also mentioned in Luke 13:4 and in John 9:7, but these passages throw no light upon its location, except that in John the name "Pool of Siloam" corresponds with the fact that 'Ain Silwân is not a fountain, but a reservoir fed by the conduit from Gihon. Josephus (*Wars*, v, 4:1) states that Siloam lay at the southern end of the Tyropoeon Valley, and describes it as a fountain with much sweet water. In *Wars*, v, 9:4, he describes it as a spring outside of the city. In *Wars*, v. 4:2, he names it as the southern point at which the wall bent around (cf. *Wars*, v, 12:2; ii, 16:2; v, 6:1; vi, 7:2; vi, 8:5). These passages all indicate that he located Siloam in the same place as the modern Pool of Silwân. In regard to this identification there is no dispute among topographers.

This pool is also referred to in II Kings 20:20, where it is said of Hezekiah: "He made the pool and the conduit and brought water into the city." The "conduit" is the Siloam Tunnel, and the "pool" is the Pool of Siloam into which the tunnel empties. In Neh. 2:14 it is called "the King's Pool," either because it was built by King Hezekiah, or because it was adjacent to the King's Gardens. In

Isa. 22:9, 11 it is said: "Ye stopped the waters of the lower pool. Ye made also a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool." The "lower" or "old" pool can be only the Birket el-Hamra, or Lower Pool of Siloam, which, before Hezekiah's tunnel was made, was filled from the Gihon, or Virgin's Fountain, by a conduit on the surface of the ground on the west side of the Kidron Valley. The new "reservoir between the two walls" can be only the Upper Pool of Siloam, into which the water was diverted from the "old pool" by Hezekiah's tunnel.

Isa. 7:3 speaks of "the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field." This "upper pool" one would naturally suppose to be the Upper Pool of Siloam that is fed by the Siloam Tunnel, except that Isa., chap. 7, belongs to the reign of Ahaz, while the Siloam Tunnel was constructed by Hezekiah. Unless the writer of Isa., chap. 7, employs the name "conduit of the upper pool" proleptically, we shall have to assume that the "upper pool" here means the Gihon, from which the old surface conduit that preceded Hezekiah's tunnel led to the "lower pool." This will also be the meaning of II Kings 18:17=Isa. 36:2 which speaks of Sennacherib's messengers to Hezekiah as standing "by the conduit of the upper pool which is in the highway of the fuller's field."

4. *The Pool of Bethesda*.—In John 5:2 we are told:

Now there is in Jerusalem by the sheep . . . a pool, which is called Bethesda,¹ having five porches. In these lay a multitude of them that were sick, blind, halt, and withered. And a certain man was there which had been thirty and eight years in his infirmity. When Jesus saw him lying, and knew that he had been now a long time in that case, he said unto him, Wouldest thou be made whole? The sick man answered him, Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool: but while I am coming, another steppeth down before me. Jesus saith unto him, Arise, take up thy bed, and walk.

Our only clues to the location of this pool are, that it was near something connected with sheep; that it had five porches large enough to hold a multitude of sick people; that its waters flowed intermittently; and that it lay outside of the city, so that Jesus was violating the Jewish sabbath law in telling the lame man to carry his mat to his house. On the hypothesis that the Sheep Gate in the north wall of the Temple lay near it, Bethesda has been traditionally identified

¹ Some manuscripts read Bethsaida; others, Bethzatha.

with Birket Isra 'in north of the H̄aram area; but it is not at all certain that the thing connected with sheep was the Sheep Gate, and the



THE CRUSADERS' POOL OF BETHESDA

traditional identification does not make its appearance until a late date. The excavations of the White Friars near the church of St. Anne north of Birket Isra 'in have disclosed a large vaulted cistern, which the Crusaders supposed to be the Pool of Bethesda, and over

which they built a church. This cistern lay outside of the city wall in the time of Christ, but it has not five porches capable of accommodating a multitude of people, and its waters never flowed intermittently. The Virgin's Fountain is the only intermittent spring in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and therefore Bethesda is probably to be located at this point. It is true that no remains of porches are to be seen here, but excavations have never been made, and it is possible that such remains exist buried beneath the deep accumulation of débris that now surrounds this fountain.²

5. *The Pool Struthius* is mentioned by Josephus (*Wars*, v, 11:4) as lying near to the Tower of Antonia. Apparently it is identical with Birket Isra'în, which lies east of the site of Antonia and north of the Temple.

6. *The Pool Amygdalon*.—In *Wars*, v, 11:4, Josephus says that the tenth legion of Titus' army, after the capture of the two outer walls on the north, was encamped at a long distance from the Pool Struthius at the Pool Amygdalon. This seems to indicate that Amygdalon is identical with Birket Hammâm el-Baṭraq, or "the Patriarch's Pool."

7. *The Serpent's Pool*.—In *Wars*, v, 3:2, Josephus states that Titus "made all the places level from Scopus to Herod's Monuments, which adjoined to the pool called the Serpents' Pool." This seems to show that the Serpents' Pool is identical with the modern Birket Mamilla.

² See the valuable article on "The Pool of Bethesda," by Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, in the *Biblical World*, February, 1905.

SOCIAL DUTIES

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CHAPTER II. SOCIAL DUTIES RELATING TO THE FAMILY¹

I. COURTSHIP

1. THE SCOPE AND PURPOSE OF THIS SECTION.—It is impossible for any one person, especially in a brief discussion, to bring to light all possible facts in respect to any particular institution of society. All that we can attempt is to induce groups of earnest, thinking people to observe and reflect, and to take into account, in forming their moral judgments, all the essential elements of a situation which should have influence on the conduct of individuals and communities. Social conduct is shown, not only in formal laws passed by legislatures and enforced in courts, but also in customs, manners, fashions, language, rules of discipline in churches, standards for receiving and rejecting persons from social circles, and even in gestures and facial expression.

In this study of the family it is taken for granted that piety, love, sympathy, purity, devotion, self-sacrifice, veracity, courage, temperance, as qualities of individual character, are recognized as supreme goods to be cultivated and sought. To perfect the spirit, or rather to give it perpetual impulse to expand in every right direction, is the end and aim of all right conduct.

What we have here to study is the situation and conduct which are favorable or unfavorable to the progress of the best life of each person, and so also the regulations which public opinion and law ought to lay down for the actions of young people in a critical period of life.

2. THE CUSTOMS OF COURTSHIP.—In our time and country this part of conduct is left very free to young people, and this gives all the more reason for teaching young people what is the meaning of courtship, what are its ends and dangers, and what duties are involved.

¹ In a previous chapter, which appeared in the *Biblical World*, January, 1907, we have made a preliminary survey of the whole field of social duties. In the present chapter we pass to consider some problems of a single group of relations.

The first step is to set before the mind of all concerned, and that at a very early period, the facts relating to the subject; for adolescence is full of illusions, delusions, fancies, errors, dreams, and confusion. Plain language rather than sentimentalism is at once most pure and most helpful. Briefly stated, some of the vital considerations are such as these: With the rise of sex-feeling, persons of both sexes are drawn to each other by an influence they did not feel in the earlier years of childhood, and at first they do not know what the new force means. The fact that sex-appetite awakens before knowledge of consequences is a peril of youth, and calls for careful instruction by parents, teachers, and physicians. From the accidental meetings of youth friendships arise which may hallow or blight all subsequent life. Girls and boys of early youth are alternately attracted and repelled, and instinct is a fallible guide. It is the moment when mere childish innocence must be armed with information as to the significance of sex; its moral possibilities of honor and good, its dangers of shame and sin. Friendship in a widening circle will not be hindered, and its freedom will be all the larger and finer because the danger is known and guarded against. Out of the circle of friends and companions of youth, in most cases, young men will finally select their wives and seek to win them. Courtship therefore belongs to the period in which the fortunes of marriage and the family are in a great degree decided.

3. THE DIGNITY OF COURTSHIP.—Courtship is a recognition of the freedom and personal rights of woman; for where marriage is decided by force, or where the wife is bought from the parents like a cow, or where she is compelled to marry to secure a fortune from a rich fool, there her personality is not respected. Compulsory marriage is a mark of low civilization, and in fashionable society there is sometimes a return to barbarism. The offer of a title as purchase price of youth and wealth is on this level of a lower and earlier stage of culture. Our ancestors sold and bought wives openly and without shame; perhaps we may still observe what historians and naturalists call survivals. There is a nobler way.

Tennyson has painted for us the fine picture of King Arthur who at his Table Round gathered the young knights and made them lay their hands in his and swear—

To lead sweet lives in purest chastity,
To love one maiden only, cleave to her,
And worship her by years of noble deeds,
Until they won her; for indeed I know
Of no more subtle master under heaven
Than is a maiden passion for a maid,
Not only to keep down the base in man,
But teach high thought, and amiable words,
And courtliness, and the desire of fame,
And love of truth, and all that makes a man.

Young persons of both sexes should be taught, for they will not otherwise duly think of it, that the conscious effort of a young man to win a young woman in courtship is a step toward marriage, the union of one man to one woman for life. Many a merry hour may properly be passed in the genial society of others without any purpose of marriage; but courtship, if it is honest, upright, Christian, is a series of acts intended to end in the establishment of a family. If it is not that, it is false, cruel, selfish, and must end in sorrow of some degree and kind.

4. ERRORS AND SINS OF COURTSHIP.—In the light of the facts and of the ideal of courtship, one can judge certain kinds of conduct which are only too common, although they are not always adopted with a deliberate purpose to injure or deceive. "Flirting" is a too familiar mode of attracting attention and winning love, perhaps only to cast it aside. The cruelty of insincere encouragement to declarations of love, whether by man or woman, is unspeakable. Why should a sacred tree be planted and made to grow until its form is necessary to the mind and its roots are deep in the earth, only to pluck it up, bleeding away its life, and leave it to perish? Is there anything honorable in the boast of "conquests"?

"Falling in love" is sometimes praised as a virtue, and often considered natural and harmless. And it is not to be denied that the mutual admiration by which two young persons are sometimes at their first meeting suddenly and strongly attracted to one another may be the beginning of a pure and permanent love. But such attraction must be something more than a passing fancy and have some better basis than physical attractiveness or sensual passion. For "love" that is worthy of the name is not a sudden flame of sense,

but an unselfish principle of devotion, a serious act of consecration. It is a pity that the sacred word which we use as a synonym of religious union with God should frequently be employed to designate the acts of vice or the impetuous outburst of animal appetite. This confusion of language tends to confuse thought and conduct to blind, impulsive action.

True, rational Christian love in married persons includes a solemn purpose to perform the duties of marriage, and to endure its trials in view of the importance of marriage to society. A proverb condenses in a brief phrase the wisdom of ages: "Marry in haste and you will repent at leisure."

Extravagance during the time of courtship may be checked by sensible girls. It may not be wise for a young man to seek the companionship of a woman whose demands upon his purse are more than he can honestly meet. Not seldom are moral lapses in business due to the temptation of young men intrusted with money to use what does not belong to them in purchasing flowers, paying for carriage hire, and other expenses, while in pursuit of a wife. Without attempting to answer them, we may start these inquiries: Why should a girl accept costly presents from one who is not her husband? Is it not questionable taste? Is it not something akin to begging? Does a wise woman like to think that she is being hired with money to give her love?

How young people should conduct themselves during the period of courtship after the promise of marriage is a problem to which too little careful thought has been given. It ought to be seriously considered by parents, teachers, and young people who value purity, unspotted reputation, and religious obligation. Engaged persons have made a serious vow, and ordinarily they should hold themselves to keep it unless there is strong reason for breaking off the relation. But engagement is not actual marriage, in reality, morals, or law. Not involving the duties of marriage, it cannot give the rights of marriage. In some countries engagement is often regarded as equivalent to marriage, especially among workingmen in crowded tenements; and this leads to many scandals and liberties, from which the woman suffers most of the evil without having legal protection. Jonathan Edwards, the Puritan leader of New England, found it

necessary to protest against the too great familiarities of young people common in his day, when sin was committed under the promise of marriage.

In all literature there is not a more beautiful and pure speech of a wise father to a prospective son-in-law than that in Shakespeare's *Tempest* where Prospero addresses the lover of his own daughter, the beautiful Miranda:

For I

Have given you here a thread of mine own life,
Or that for which I live. . . .
Then, as my gift, and thine own acquisition
Worthily purchased, take my daughter: but
If thou dost break her virgin knot before
All sanctimonious ceremonies may
With full and holy rite be ministered,
No sweet aspersion shall the heavens let fall
To make this contract grow; but barren hate,
Sour-eyed disdain, and discord. . . .

Therefore, take heed

As Hymen's lamps shall light you.
Look, thou be true, do not give dalliance
Too much the rein; the strongest oaths are straw
To the fire in the blood: be more abstemious,
Or else, good night, your vow!

Modesty and dignity do not dampen strong affection, but make the light burn brighter into old age.

5. VALUE OF COURTSHIP.—The period of courtship is an opportunity for discrimination, selection, reason. Hence it should not begin too early in life. Sometimes a temporary time of separation, for reflection and comparison, with change of scene, may help the young people to make the lifetime decision with greater wisdom. The conclusion of this period is but a new beginning. "Love" has illusions; for it idealizes its object; it transforms the shallow, pretty girl into a creature of majesty and character; it causes the mean scamp to loom up in the brilliant fancy of a girl in a mist magnified a thousand diameters of moral greatness. In the *Midsummer Night's Dream* the great dramatist has pictured a queen, under the spell of a magic potion, admiring a donkey and praising its long ears—a satirical hint of the deception which young people sometimes practice

on themselves. The lover, "of imagination all compact," "sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt;" the black Moor seems white to Desdemona.

Courtship is made all the more frivolous by the current mode of speaking and thinking of divorce. If marriage can be lightly dissolved, then a mistake in selecting a wife or accepting a husband, it is imagined, will not prove very serious. But a courtship which does not mean fidelity for life is like a rose with a worm eating out its heart, like a tree growing in scant soil. The very idea of divorce, covert under all the outward protestations of undying devotion, not only endangers the stability of marriage, but degrades courtship itself and turns the solemn vows of lovers into a heartless hypocrisy. A tacit lie lurks in every word of affection, and robs the happiest and sweetest moment of all the fresh bloom of sentiment. The very phrase "trial marriages," recently made popular, is rank poison. Marriages of criminals are all "trial marriages," as those of brutes and savages are. Even a hint of descending to those nether regions for a rule of life is a disgrace and a degradation.

In the stage of courtship wise and good young women have great educational power. Let us have one generation of young women sensible and self-possessed enough to think and to reject from all friendly companionship young men who are intemperate, unclean, guilty of "sowing wild oats," profane, coarse; and the next generation, if not so numerous, would reflect more luster on the republic. The woman who marries a man to reform him has taken a viper to warm at her heart. The son of a millionaire is likely to imagine that he need not be virtuous because he can gain the hand of a good woman on account of his riches. The divorce courts are witnesses of tragedies arising from such blunders on both sides. Alimony is a poor substitute for the happiness of a rational marriage.

6. PREPARATION NEEDED FOR MARRIAGE.—Honest courtship, the offer and acceptance of a friendship which means marriage, should lead young persons to prepare for marriage. For the young woman this means in addition to the modesty, purity, and chastity which every wise mother teaches her daughter and casts about her as an angelic mantle of protection, an acquisition of the knowledge and training of a home-maker. This part of the preparation includes

all possible general culture which makes a woman capable of sympathizing through a long life with the broad industrial, economic, and political interests of a man; it includes all possible acquaintance with literature and art which may give rational, worthy, and inspiring diversion and recreation to minds worried and wearied with monotonous grind and rasping contacts; it means the power to keep a house wholesome, clean, tidy with a touch of beauty, and not exceed the income of the man; it includes the knowledge and the training which are necessary to feed and care for the infant and young child, the normal issue of a marriage formed for social ends. If all this can be learned, in theory and practice, at home, it may be well; but ordinarily the help of schools, classes, and expert instruction will be required in order to secure the best results.

The preparation of a young man for marriage must be of body, mind, spirit. He must be prepared to earn an income sufficient to support a wife and children. Personally he should be free, and should furnish reasonable proof to the father of his fiancée, or, if the father is dead, to her mother, that he is free from all form of communicable disease. Some day this may be demanded by law, when the general public becomes aware of the frightful ravages of venereal and other contagious and hereditary diseases, and acquires the moral courage to apply an effective legal remedy. But until that law comes, and as one means of hastening its coming, every upright and sensible man will use his best effort to enforce such a requirement by every means of instruction, persuasion, and influence.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. What are the customs of courtship in the locality and community? What is faulty in them?
2. Has the church any rule of discipline on the subject?
3. Does the law of the state offer any regulation of the social relations of the sexes previous to marriage? What immoral acts are forbidden by law, under penalties?
4. Can anything be done by the class to produce a purer, more sober, and rational custom in the neighborhood? How can rakes be frowned out of decent society?
5. Would a fashion of "chaperonage" be advisable?
6. What aspects of the problem, not touched in the lesson text, are worthy of consideration? What important facts are omitted? Send notice of serious omissions to the writer of these lessons.

REFERENCES TO LITERATURE

Information which should be given to young persons in regard to the anatomy, physiology, dangers, diseases, hygiene, and duties relating to sex:

G. S. Hall, *Adolescence*, Vol. I, pp. 463-71. President Hall complains that nearly all the books published hitherto are too long and contain too many suggestive, exciting, and morbid details. He has published (D. Appleton & Co.) a smaller work entitled *Youth*.

Charles Wagner. *Youth (La jeunesse)*.

As this is the period when the care of health and strength becomes the duty and the charge of youth, the school studies of physiology and hygiene may be continued by reading substantial books, as:

Martin, *The Human Body*, or

Harrington, *Practical Hygiene*.

For young men: Winfield S. Hall, *The Biology, Physiology and Sociology of Reproduction, also Sexual Hygiene* (Chicago, 1906).

A. Marro, "Puberal Hygiene in Relation to Pedagogy and Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1900, pp. 224-37. The same writer is author of a study, *La pubertà* (in Italian and French)—an important book.

[*This chapter will be continued in the April number in a section dealing with Marriage and Divorce.*]

THE BIBLICAL TEACHING CONCERNING DIVORCE

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II. NEW TESTAMENT TEACHING

In taking up the teaching of Jesus concerning divorce, it will be well to put before us the four passages in which the gospels report that teaching:

MARK 10:2-12

And there came unto him Pharisees, and asked him, Is it lawful for a man to put away *his* wife? tempting him. And he answered and said unto them. What did Moses command you? And they said, Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement, and to put her away. But Jesus said unto them, For your hardness of heart he wrote you this commandment. But from the beginning of the creation, Male and female made he them. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and shall cleave to his wife; and the twain shall become one flesh: so that they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. And in the house the disciples asked him again of this matter. And he saith unto them, Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her: and if she herself shall put away her husband, and marry another, she committeth adultery.

LUKE 16:18

Every one that putteth away his wife and marieth another committeth adultery: and he that marieth one that is

MATT. 19:3-9

And there came unto him Pharisees, tempting him, and saying, Is it lawful *for a man* to put away his wife for every cause? And he answered and said, Have ye not read, that he which made *them* from the beginning made them male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and the twain shall become one flesh? So that they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder. They say unto him, Why then did Moses command to give a bill of divorcement, and to put *her* away? He saith unto them, Moses for your hardness of heart suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it hath not been so. And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and he that marieth her when she is put away committeth adultery.

MATT. 5:31, 32

It was said also, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement: but I say unto you,

| | |
|---|---|
| put away from a husband committeth adultery. | that every one that putteth away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, maketh her an adulteress: and whoso- ever shall marry her when she is put away committeth adultery. |
|---|---|

Of the various differences in these passages, the most notable is that the two passages on the right hand contain the exceptive clause, "except for fornication," while the two on the left hand omit it. It is in vain to minimize this difference. If the several passages be taken as a formula of practice, they are in direct contradiction with one another. If they are so far removed from a formula of practice as to be expressive of one consistent view, this itself is a fact of cardinal importance for the interpretation of them. Our first duty, then, is to discover, if possible, whether we ought to attribute both forms to Jesus, and, if not, which represents his thought.

There are three principles which may be regarded as practically established by the critical study of the synoptic Gospels: (a) The second gospel is one of the sources of the first. (b) The first gospel had also among its sources a gospel document containing reports of many of Jesus' sayings; portions at least of this document are found also in the Perea portion of Luke (9:51—18:24; 19:1-28). (c) The first evangelist made many minor changes, not only in arrangement, but also in language, in the material which he derived from these sources.

If we bear in mind these general facts, based upon the study of the gospels as a whole, it will appear that Mark 10:2-12 is almost certainly a more primitive report in general than Matt. 19:3-9. The general presumption in favor of the priority of Mark is in this case confirmed by several considerations: (a) In Mark (vs. 6) Jesus appeals to an ultimate fact of the constitution of human nature, which he expresses in Scripture language; in Matthew he is made to appeal to the authority of Scripture. The change from the former to the latter is in the direction of transcriptional probability; the change from the latter to the former is against it. (b) The pronoun "her" in Matthew (vs. 9) is hopelessly ambiguous if the exceptive clause is retained. Does it refer to the wife put away for fornication, or not for fornication? If to either, then, since the preceding clause speaks

directly of divorce not for fornication, and only by implication of divorce for fornication, the pronoun must refer to the woman divorced without fornication; and in this case it is the innocent woman to whom is denied the right of remarriage. This is logical, in a sense, since it is the innocent woman whose marriage bond to her former husband still continues *de jure*. But did Jesus then mean to say that the remarriage of a guilty wife was permissible, but not that of an innocent wife wrongly divorced? The presence of the exceptive clause in the first sentence makes the second sentence an enigma. (c) It is possible to discover a motive for the addition of the words "except for fornication" in a gospel written for Jews. Jewish morality could not conceive of a stricter rule than this. Perhaps even Jewish Christians could not suppose that Jesus meant to go beyond the strictest rule of the strictest school of the Pharisees. Was he not always more liberal, less rigid, than the Pharisees, as, e. g., in respect to the sabbath, fasting, food? But it is difficult to understand how, if the original saying contained the exceptive clause, there should have been any motive to omit it.

The non-originality of the exceptive clause is further confirmed by its absence from Luke 16:18. For if the change was the omission of the phrase, this change was made by two evangelists independently, while, if it was by insertion, it was made by one only. Or, to speak independently of any theory of the relation of the Synoptists, we have the authority of two gospels for the omission, but of only one for the insertion, of the exceptive clause.

The origin of Matt. 5:31, 32 is not wholly clear. On the one hand, like Matt. 19:9 it contains the exceptive clause and has the same ambiguity and obscurity. On the other hand it differs from all the other passages in that it does not contain the words "and marry another" and as a natural sequel reads not "committeth adultery" but "causeth her to commit adultery." The former fact suggests dependence on the same source as Matt. 19:9 and like treatment of it. The latter fact suggests an independent source. If there was an independent source, the exceptive clause may be an addition to it, as in Matt. 19:9 it is an addition to the Mark source of that passage, or the source may have contained the clause and have been itself the occasion of the modification of Mark 10:11 which the

evangelist has introduced into Matt. 19:9. Either procedure would be wholly in accord with the first evangelist's method in this construction of the discourses of Jesus.

One further consideration is to be mentioned, bearing upon the question whether Jesus may have uttered the saying in both forms, and if not, which is the original form of the utterance. Include the exceptive clause, and the saying ceases to be a simple ethical saying, and becomes legislative, or passes into the realm of casuistry. Now, the testimony of the gospels is, on the whole, unmistakably to the effect that Jesus was not a legislator in his aim, or legislative or casuistic in spirit. He dealt with great principles, not with rules of conduct. This saying concerning divorce, as it stands in the Sermon on the Mount, is out of character with the whole of the rest of the discourse; stands alone in its legislative tone. It is scarcely less true that the two Matthew sayings are out of character with the whole tenor and spirit of Jesus' ethical teaching. He is not a legislator, but a great ethical and religious teacher.

That the original utterance of Jesus did not contain the exceptive clause is then far more probable than either that it did contain it, or that both forms go back to him. We must accordingly seek his teaching in Mark 10:12 and Luke 16:18, or in these passages and Matt. 5:31, 32 less the exceptive clause.

What, then, is the substance of Jesus' teaching? Two facts respecting Jesus' general method of thought and teaching will help to guide us in determining this: (a) Jesus summed up the whole of his ethical teaching in the one principle of love—i. e., regard for the well-being of all who are affected by one's action (Matt. 7:12; 22:40). (b) He determined his more specific ethical judgments by the combination of this principle with fundamental facts of human nature and experience. Human well-being is the supreme consideration in conduct between man and man; and human experience alone can determine what is for human well-being. It is thus that he deals with the sabbath, with fasting, with clean and unclean meats. It is thus that in Mark 10:1-12 he deals with marriage. The controlling factor is not in what the law of Moses may chance to say, but in the deep fact of sex as an element of human nature. "From the beginning of the creation male and female made he them." It is fair to assume

that these words on Jesus' lips refer, not simply to the physical differentiation of the sexes, which man shares with the lower animals, but to all that sex means in the human species: the relation that it creates between husband and wife as beings of moral nature, human sensibilities, and sexual modesty; between parent and child, with the corresponding obligations of protection and affection and education. Sex means one thing to the dog; it means something very different to civilized man, to whom and of whom Jesus spoke. It is further beyond question that, though Jesus does not here enunciate in terms the principle of love, yet it is the other foundation on which his teaching here rests; for, as remarked above, he makes this the central element, the corner-stone of all his ethical teaching. It is, therefore, as if he had said: Consider the true nature of man, what the fundamental and unchangeable fact of sex means in man, and apply to this the all-inclusive principle of love; the result will be *no divorce*. Every broken marriage is a violation of the fundamental law of man's being—of that which the one principle of regard for human well-being demands in view of what sex means in men.¹

Now, this, which is not only the natural meaning of Jesus' words, but the only conception of his thought, which is consistent with his general ethical point of view as clearly indicated by the body of his teaching, itself excludes any such exceptive clause as Matthew supplies. If a husband have a due apprehension of what the relation of husband and wife means, for himself, for his wife, for his children, for society, and if he seriously purposes to govern his conduct by regard for human well-being, will he break up his home because of a burnt dinner? But if not for a burnt dinner, then for what? Will the love that suffers long and is kind, that endureth all things, set a limit to that which it will endure? Are we not to love and to forgive as God loves and forgives? Even the prophet Hosea had learned that the love that is like God's love sets no limit to its forgiveness.

But does this then mean that according to the teaching of Jesus there should never be divorce—never a separation of husband and wife?

¹ It is true that if we disregard Matt. 5:32 entirely, basing our interpretation on Mark 10:12 and Luke 16:18 only, Jesus explicitly condemns only remarriage, not dissolution of the former marriage. But his characterization of marriage after divorce as adultery implies the continuance and perpetuity of the first marriage. Mark 10:12 and Matt. 5:32 (less the exceptive clause) differ in form, not in underlying principle.

Again we have to remind ourselves of the character of Jesus' teaching. Never, unless this is the one case, does he descend to legislation. Are the words, "Give to him that asketh of thee, and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not away," a *rule* of action, to which there are no exceptions in practice? Is it not rather the forceful expression of a principle, to which, just because it is a principle, there can be no exception, but which as a principle is supreme over all rules? Am I to give when to give would be not for but against the well-being of all who are affected by my giving? Surely we have but imperfectly apprehended Jesus if we have not learned that the principle of love is supreme in his teaching, and that it takes precedence over all specific illustrative injunctions. But if we apply this principle to the present case, we gain as the interpretation of Jesus' teaching for practical application substantially this: No marriage is temporary; no divorce is normal; love sets no limit to its endurance; if ever the dissolution of a marriage otherwise than by death is justified, it must be because the circumstances are so abnormal that love itself demands the dissolution; the principle of love must be supreme, and must be applied in view of all the facts, of which most fundamental of all is the nature and consequence of sex in man.

But if this is the teaching of Jesus, if he simply lays bare the fundamental fact and principle that must govern and as in other things leaves all else to others, what does this teaching signify in practical application to life? Let it suffice here to set forth some of the more obvious and important of the implications of this teaching.

1. Since every marriage is for life and every ruptured marriage a crime against nature and love, marriage should never be entered into inconsiderately or with the thought that, if the bond become disagreeable, it may be severed.

2. A marriage once contracted, both husband and wife are under solemn obligation to do nothing that shall endanger its perpetuity; to use all diligence to keep the relation pure, the tie strong. On the one hand, this forbids all conduct of either which could unnecessarily give offense to the other, and, on the other, demands forbearance and readiness to forgive when there has been conduct endangering the harmony and peace of the relationship.

3. No specific wrong can be named as exceeding the limits of

forbearance or forgiveness. Love endureth all things. Adultery is not *per se* an unpardonable sin, or a reason for divorce. The teaching of Hosea is not un-Christian.

4. If, nevertheless, by the conduct of husband or wife it has become evident, after due consideration and the exercise of all possible forbearance by the other, that the continuance of the relationship is against the well-being of those affected by it—the husband and wife themselves, the children, society at large—then the same principle that demands that under no other circumstances shall there be separation, demands that in this case it shall take place. Whether such cause exist cannot be decided by any formulated *rule*. Each case will inevitably be complex, and demand conscientious study. It is very sure that, while adultery would not always demand or justify separation, cases might arise demanding separation even when there had been no adultery.

5. The question of a second marriage after divorce must likewise be decided by principle and not by rule. The well-being of all who are affected by the action is the supreme and only governing consideration. Into the decision of any particular case many elements must necessarily enter: the possibility of reconciliation, the interests of the children, susceptibility to temptation on the part of either man or woman, and, what must never be forgotten, the interest of society at large.

The teaching of the apostle Paul need not detain us long. What he has to say concerning marriage and divorce is found in I Cor., chap. 7, and Rom. 7:2, 3. The former passage is scarcely more than a restatement of the teaching of Jesus and an application of it to the situation in Corinth, qualified in some measure by the apostle's personal preference for celibacy, and his expectation of the near end of the then present order of things. The latter passage refers to the matter only incidentally, but doubtless reflects the apostle's own view. The main elements of his view are:

1. Celibacy is, generally speaking, more desirable than marriage, especially by reason of "the present distress," and because of the tendency of marriage to divide one's allegiance between the Lord and the husband or wife.

2. But marriage is not sinful; as a protection of chastity it may even be necessary.

3. Marriage is properly indissoluble. A Christian husband and wife should never separate. A Christian should never leave even a non-Christian husband or wife.

4. A second marriage, the previous husband or wife still living (cf. Rom. 7:2, 3), is abnormal, and adulterous. If, contrary to principle 3, a wife leave her husband, she should remain unmarried, or return to her husband.

5. Desertion of a Christian husband or wife by the heathen wife or husband dissolves the marriage.

6. Of adultery as a ground of divorce nothing is said. This is negative but valuable evidence as to the form in which Jesus' teaching (vs. 12) had reached Paul, especially in view of the lax standards of sexual morality prevalent among the heathen.

7. The principle that avoidance of temptation to fornication may justify or require marriage when otherwise it would be unadvisable, though not so applied by Paul, seems evidently applicable to the case of divorced persons also, especially to that of one deserted against his will. Yet it is clear that for Paul every broken marriage is a crime on the part of the one responsible for it, and that a second marriage while the former husband or wife is still living is abnormal.

It is thus evident that, though the teaching of Paul concerning marriage is affected by his personal preference for celibacy and his eschatological expectations, concerning the essential indissolubility of marriage once contracted he is at one with the teaching of Jesus if this be interpreted not as statutory, but as expressive of fundamental principles. Paul's fundamental ethical principle also is that of love, that all things should be done for edifying; and he holds his whole doctrine of marriage subject to that principle.

There is, therefore, on the whole, a remarkable unanimity in all the Scripture utterances upon marriage. Marriage is normal, and normal marriage is the indissoluble union of husband and wife for life. This is the biblical doctrine.

The deuteronomic legislation does not hold strictly to this ideal; but even its departure from it, however ill-advised, is with the *intent* of securing the largest practicable realization of it. Ezra breaks with it, but only in the interest of the purity of the Jehovah-religion, and by the annulment of marriages which he doubtless regarded as illegitimate to begin with. Paul depreciates marriage as compared with celibacy, but does not deny its perfect legitimacy, and insists upon its indis-

solubility. The prophets, Hosea and Malachi apparently anticipated Jesus in setting forth the ideal in its purest form.

How does this biblical teaching apply to modern life?

1. It furnishes no immediate basis for legislation that gives into the hands of others than the husband and wife themselves the decision whether a marriage shall continue. The deuteronomic Code prohibits remarriage under certain conditions, and conveys an obscure intimation as to what constitutes ground of divorce; but the decision to divorce the wife or not lies with the husband, not with jury or judge. Jesus addresses men's consciences; he says nothing about legislation. The demand, often made by ecclesiastical assemblies in the name of Christianity, for a statute which shall authorize a court to "grant" divorce for adultery only, has no New Testament basis; first, because there is no sufficient reason to believe that Jesus names adultery or any other specific² cause as a ground of divorce; secondly, because he was not formulating rules, which statutes must always be, but enunciating broad elemental principles; and, thirdly, because he was not speaking of what the law of the state should be, but what the conduct of men should be, and it is by no means to be assumed that the state should endeavor to enforce the precepts which Jesus addressed to men's consciences. Jesus taught men to enter into their closets and pray to the Father in heaven; but no state is competent to enforce obedience to that injunction. Strictly speaking, the demand that legislation should conform to Jesus' teaching would leave the whole matter in the hands of the husband, with state mandate perhaps, but without state control.

2. Yet there must be legislation in the matter of divorce, and some kind of state control. Personal and property rights, and the interests of society, are involved to such an extent that for the protection of its own interests and of the innocent, especially of children, the state must make and execute laws. It cannot find its model in the deuteronomic legislation, for it affords too little protection to wife or child. It cannot find it in the words of Jesus treated as statutory, for the reasons already given. But if the teaching of Jesus in truth embodies the highest ethical principle, and rests upon a sound basis of fact concerning human nature, then the state ought to seek by its legislation

² Even the Matthew text says not "adultery," but "fornication."

to promote in the highest possible measure the realization of that ideal which Jesus sets forth. By what means it can do this is a matter calling for careful investigation.

3. But it is evident that no legislation, however wise and however perfectly executed, is adequate to remedy the evils of divorce. Only right ideals intelligently accepted and conscientiously followed can either prevent those unsuitable and unhappy marriages, which make divorce often seem like the less of two evils, or enable even those who have blundered at the outset to convert defeat into victory by nobly retrieving through patience and forbearance their first error.

4. Effort should be directed, primarily to the prevention of rash and unsuitable marriage. The maxim, "Easy marriage, hard divorce," is the height of folly. The greatest evils under which modern society is suffering in the matter of marriage and divorce would at once be avoided if this principle could be firmly established in the public conscience. The church, the home, the school, and the press should combine to inculcate into the minds of the young right ideals of marriage; and legislation should co-operate to prevent haste and rashness. There is great wisdom in the suggestion of Howard that the state should require publication of intention to marry, and an interval of some months between this publication and marriage itself.

5. In a community possessed of material for such a court and of virtue sufficient to secure the appointment to it of the men fitted for its responsible duties, would not the best method of dealing with all questions of divorce and remarriage be to intrust the decision of them to a court composed of men—or of men and women—of the highest morality and wisdom, and empowered to decide all cases brought before it, guided not by a statute defining what should be considered legal grounds for divorce, but by their own moral sense and insight into the elements and requirements of each case? Is such a court possible in this country? If not, then, because of the hardness of men's hearts, we must put up with less righteous and more crude and mechanical laws, till the tide of intelligence and morality has risen high enough to enable us to do what is ideally best. Meantime our great duty is education, especially of the young, through the inculcation of the principle that marriage is properly indissoluble, and altruistic love its ruling principle and safeguard.

TRACES OF HUMOR IN THE SAYINGS OF JESUS

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Professor F. G. Peabody in his *Jesus Christ and the Social Question* makes an interesting remark about a certain neglected aspect of the Master's nature. "It is only here and there in the gospels," he says, "that the sense of the beautiful finds expression in the somber and strenuous life of Jesus, as slanting sunbeams strike through a clouded and threatening day; but when these rare flashes of aesthetic pleasure slant thus through his teaching, they illuminate a side of his character which has been from many devout Christians almost concealed."

The same causes that have contributed to this concealment have almost kept the subject of the present paper from being discussed at all. It is safe to say that to the great mass of Christians it has not even occurred to ask whether Jesus had a sense of humor or not. By many the question, even if raised, would be at once dismissed as trifling or perhaps irreverent; but to others it may seem not only a proper but an interesting inquiry. There are some of us who think that a sense of humor is a very marked addition to a human character, and who would feel that the life of Jesus was unhappily limited and incomplete if it was all "somber and strenuous." The assurance that he joined in men's innocent laughter would be welcomed by us for some of the same reasons that make us treasure the assurance of his sympathy in human sorrow. The lives of some of the most Christlike men whom we ourselves have known have helped to convince us that a Christ who seldom or never smiled, and who was a stranger to the instincts of human mirth, would have lacked a power that was greatly needed by him in his work of winning and redeeming men.

Our *evidence* of the existence of this genial quality in Jesus is naturally scanty. It is not strange that the gospels should emphasize the serious side of his message almost to the exclusion of every other

aspect of it. The message was, of course, a serious one. If there were touches of humor in it here or there, they were incidental. Commonly they could be forgotten without an irreparable loss to the truth with which they were connected. The very process by which a large part of the teaching of Jesus was preserved and finally recorded, the necessary compacting of it in oral transmission, the gradual selection of the salient points to be expressed, and the rejection of all that was non-essential—this process, of which the effects appear on almost every page of the Synoptic Gospels, would naturally tend to eliminate many lighter turns of thought or expression, such as we at present have it in mind to look for; or if, on the other hand, the words of the Master were thoroughly recast, rewritten from a special point of view and according to a definite literary plan, this elimination might of course be still more complete; and, as a matter of fact, in the words of Jesus reported in the Fourth Gospel there does not seem to be a single trace of humor or anything that even remotely suggests its presence. It is to be remembered, moreover, that at the time when the gospels took their present shape the Christian disciples were surrounded by anxieties, temptations, troubles, dangers, creating an atmosphere of seriousness which would naturally color the whole body of Christian literature in that period. Jesus himself had foreseen such a condition and had described it as a change from that of his own lifetime. "Can the sons of the bride-chamber mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them? But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then will they fast" (Matt. 9:15).

Even supposing that sayings of Jesus, which were originally brightened by sidelights of humor, were preserved for us absolutely intact, literal quotations of his precise words, the presence of the humor in them would not necessarily be certain to us. For it is a well-known fact that often humor which was unmistakable in the spoken word seems to evaporate in the process of recording. The speaker's tone and the expression of his face are needed as commentary, and without them the spirit of the utterance becomes indeterminate. Probably all of us have experienced the misfortune of writing a humorous letter which, on arriving at its destination,

was read in perfect seriousness, and by this fact caused all manner of misunderstanding. But this illustration, if it helps to make plain the difficulty of tracing the presence of a sense of humor in the words of Jesus, suggests also the possible usefulness of such an undertaking. In some instances the readiness to perceive a lurking smile behind the impersonality of the text might even contribute something to serious exegesis.

Let us, then, examine the sayings of Jesus with a view to determine which of them, if any, will admit an element of humor in their interpretation; and in so doing let it be understood that the word "humor" is used in a very general sense, including any expression of amusement, any form of pleasantry, any apparent perception of the ludicrous in action or situation or idea; in short, any genial exercise of the imagination. Nor need we exclude the less sympathetic keenness of wit, if that should appear to be present.

But before proceeding to canvass the evidence, notice one or two characteristics of Jesus' recorded words that make his possession of a sense of humor seem more or less probable. In the first place, it is evident that in him *imagination*, a chief essential of humor, was highly developed. He speaks habitually in figures. Parables, metaphors, similes, come so close together and in such abundance that his collected sayings are like a sort of moving picture.

In the second place, there is often a kind of *homeliness* in his imaginative expressions that would provide excellent raw material for humor when needed. "I will make you *fishers of men*" (Matt. 4:19) is an instance, especially considering the commonplace associations of the phrase in the minds of those Galilean fishermen to whom it was addressed. A similar example, though as actually spoken the words are very far removed from pleasantry, is found in one of Christ's woes pronounced upon the scribes and Pharisees: "Ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful, but inwardly are full of dead men's bones" (Matt. 23:27). There is a sort of unvarnished directness in this striking word-picture that, under other conditions, would easily lend itself to the uses of humor. And it may be observed, by the way, that one who was so keen in detecting and exposing an incongruity as Jesus here proves

himself to have been,¹ certainly possessed an important essential of the humorous point of view.

Another trait of Jesus that would lend itself to the expression of humor is a sort of *cleverness*, if I may use the word without offense. I mean a quickness and aptness in conversation; for instance, in reply to entangling questions. An example of this is found in his instant use of the image and superscription on a penny, when asked about the lawfulness of giving tribute (Matt. 22:17-21). And something of the same sort, though in a more artificial form, appears in the apt quotations from Scripture used both as question and as answer in that little allegory known commonly as the Temptation in the Wilderness (Matt. 4:1-11), in which the speeches put into the mouth of Satan are as significant for our purpose as those spoken by the Master, since we must suppose that to Jesus the whole passage owes its form.

Coming now to a direct examination of the passages upon which must mainly depend the success or failure of the attempt to show that humor is a real element in Christ's sayings, we should observe that the humor may appear in two different forms. On the one hand, it may be *literary* in character, dependent on the contrast of ideas put forth by the speaker, or on his manner of describing persons or events. On the other hand, it may be *humor of situation*, depending upon a relation between the words spoken and that which is going on at the time of their utterance, especially in the minds of the listeners.

Of the literary humor the clearest examples in Christ's words appear perhaps in the form of exaggeration. The parable of the Mote and the Beam (Matt. 7:4) is a famous instance. The absurdity of the contrast is so great—an infinitesimal speck in the one eye, and a log of wood in the other—that it could hardly have been spoken for the first time without raising a laugh, if it was spoken with any vigor at all; and, indeed, even today, if you take pains to think what the parable says, you cannot help smiling when you hear it. An exactly parallel illustration is found in the picture of the Pharisees, "straining out a gnat and swallowing a camel" (Matt. 23:24).

¹ Cf. also Matt. 23:23; Mark 10:25; 12:40; and notice his special sensitiveness to hypocrisy.

A more elaborate instance of literary humor is the delightful little glimpse that Jesus gives us of children at their games in the market-place: "We piped unto you and ye did not dance; we wailed and ye did not mourn" (Matt. 11:17). It is the last clause that causes or ought to cause a smile: "We wailed and ye did not mourn" or, more literally, "did not beat your breasts." Read this *seriously*, and you have before you an inexplicable group of people, manifestly grown up—not children at all—who solemnly charge one another with lack of sympathy. But the scene that Jesus really drew was what a modern child would call "playing funeral;" only in the Palestine of Jesus' day the customs of mourning offered a much more fertile field for the heartless imitation of children than is the case with us. "Don't you know," says one child to the other, "that unless you beat your breast when I begin to wail, you spoil the whole game?" I think this passage alone would assure us that Jesus was not ignorant of the manner in which humor may be put to use.

The one remaining instance of this literary humor that I shall produce is also an illustration of the fact that the humor in Christ's sayings is sometimes so plain as barely to need to be pointed out. In the parable of the Excuses (Luke 14:16-23) I suppose that the pleas offered by the three men for not attending the great supper to which they had been invited, and especially that of the last one, have often struck many of us as distinctly funny; they seem so much like the modern attempts to get out of an inconvenient engagement: "I have bought a field and must needs go and see it;" "I have bought five yoke of oxen and I go to prove them;" "I have married a wife and therefore I cannot come." All this we should be sure was humorous if it was not in the gospel. But it *is* humorous, whether in the gospel or out of it. For my part, I have at least little doubt that, when Jesus first made this graphic reference to the much-married man, some one among the auditors, who was known to walk in matrimonial leading-strings, was nudged or clapped on the back by his companions.

This interpretation of the passage, by which the humor is distinctly increased through a special adaptation to the audience, intro-

duces naturally our second group of illustrations—the instances of humorous *situation* arising from Christ's words.

If, when we read the little parables of the Patched Garment and the New Wine in Old Wine-Skins (Mark 2:21 f.), we remember that the persons to whom Jesus spoke, representatives of the old régime of formalism, were in these parables represented by old clothes and worn-out wine-skins, we cannot help wondering whether Jesus, besides the serious truth he was expressing, was not indulging in a smile at their expense. If he was not, he might surely have expressed his truth without twice over using terms so uncomplimentary to his hearers.

A similar, and perhaps more clearly intentional, instance is found in the discourse at the chief Pharisee's table (Luke 14:7-24). It would seem that both Christ's host and his fellow-guests were prompted by idle curiosity, and that Jesus had been invited to eat with them in order that they might in the most comfortable manner have an opportunity of seeing and hearing him. He was to be exploited for their entertainment. But, as a matter of fact, it is rather we who are entertained by observing that, when he begins to speak—although apparently he speaks in general terms ("If you have been invited to a wedding," he begins), and although to his hearers his purpose is apparently not clear at first—he is really, in every word he speaks about the manner in which hospitality should be given and received, and in his parable of the great supper and the reluctant guests, exposing the mean spirit of those who sit at table with him, their unpardonable ill-breeding, their wretched insincerity. It may be noted that throughout the passage single phrases and turns of expression betray a humorous vein, as when he says: "In giving a dinner or a supper do not invite your friends or your brethren or your rich neighbors, *lest haply they bid you again*" (Luke 14:12). The humorous excuses in the parable have already been referred to in another connection. But the special humor of the occasion lay in the fact that many of those who heard, and who at the time were chiefly impressed by the fact that they were listening to one who was considered something of a celebrity, would realize afterward (as Jesus all the time had in mind) that all his stories had been told at their expense. It may be added that this

touch of amusement, in neatly pricking the bubble of their assumed superiority at the same time that he was pointing out their more serious faults, is perhaps needed to save Christ's discourse on this occasion from partaking more of the spirit of Diogenes, the cynical exposure of mean motives in all sorts and conditions of men, than seems quite in harmony with Jesus' usual habit.

It would perhaps be tedious to point out further instances; and it is enough to say that, were it desirable, the illustrations of Christ's use of humor could be considerably extended. Indeed, it is probable that, when once the possibility of humor in the Master's words has been conceived, those who re-read the gospels with this subject in their thought will be surprised at the frequency with which they detect the vestige of a smile; and probably they will be not only surprised but pleased at the freshness and lifelikeness which seem to be restored to many of the incidents and sayings by the recognition in them of the touch of humor.

There is, moreover, a still deeper reason for pleasure in such a result. The Christians of our time are trying to show by word and deed that all the narrowness of gloom and heavy solemnity, the long faces, and the prosiness, sometimes associated with Christianity, are an unwarranted importation into it; are trying to make it plain, not only that the Christian may tolerate laughter and a merry heart, but that the Christian ought to pray God for a full share of these good gifts and to use them as among the means of making earth more like heaven.

There is therefore a genuine satisfaction in the belief, not only that this point of view is not at variance with the essential spirit of Christian teaching, but that it had its original illustration in the mind and in the method of the Master himself.

THE NATURE-POETRY OF THE PSALMS

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III. THE LANDSCAPE

There is little landscape description either in Homer or in the Psalter. Little pictures are not uncommon in ancient poetry, but the rush of the story was too impetuous, or the stress of human feeling too violent, for any dallying on the way to paint natural scenery for its own sake. Homer is lured on by "the bright eyes of danger;" the Psalmist poets pay little attention to the objective world. The landscape where the hero performs his feats, or where Diana engages in the chase, is understood to be beautiful, and the colors used by the poet are put on with a sparing hand. To the epic or to the psalm there is scarcely any background whatever; the Homeric poems and the Psalms are alike in their subjection of natural beauty to humanity and movement. The poet cannot bear to take his eyes from the human or divine actor for long; if he does linger for a moment to describe a pleasant scene, it is merely for purposes of illustration, or because the view elicits his admiration because of its fruitfulness, or his hate because of its repellent features. In both Greek and Hebrew poetry Nature is described in her large, actual, true aspect, with small talk of beauty and much emphasis of the useful; either a large brush is used by the painter, or a thumb-nail sketch is effected.

Ruskin has described Homer's method of treating landscape,¹ and the Grecian habit of subserving all the beauty of earth to the human comfort—to the foot, the taste, or the smell; the plain grass, fruit, or flower is referred to in matter-of-fact language. The ideal landscape to the Greek was subservient to human service; it was ideal precisely because it offered good pasturage, fruitful soil, or pleasant shade. Every ideal landscape, Ruskin points out, is composed of a fountain, a meadow, and a shady grove. Mercury halts

¹ *Modern Painters* (1860), Vol. III, pp. 184 ff.

on his swift message to behold with gladness a landscape consisting of a cave covered with a running vine, grape-laden, and surrounded by a grove of alder, poplar, and sweet-smelling cypress. In an orderly row are four fountains of white water running through a moist meadow full of violets and parsley. Calypso sings beside her fire of finely chopped cedar wood, which exhales a smoke as of incense through the island, and owls, hawks, and "long-tongued sea-crows" roost in the branches of the trees.² In the *Odyssey* the garden of Alcinous further emphasizes, and with more prosaic detail, the main features of the ideal Homeric landscape. It is not so very different from a great garden of the present day, such as the writer has often seen in the Niagara peninsula in Canada. The vegetables, among which there are plenty of onions, flourish in "orderly square beds" between long rows of vines, hanging heavy with clusters of grapes; two fountains run through the garden, and there is an abundance of pear, apple, and fig trees. Foliage and meadow and running water, with their wood and corn and drink, flatness, fertility, order—these are all summed up in the description of the Cyclops' country, to the wandering Greek a perfect land.

They have soft, marshy meadows near the sea, and good, rich, crumbling, plowing-land, giving fine deep crops, and vines always giving fruit; a port so quiet that they have no need of cables in it; and at the head of the port, a beautiful clear spring just under a cave, and aspen poplars all around it.³

The Greeks disliked rocks and mountains, although to the modern eye it is the mountain scenery which is most attractive. To Homer, and to the practical men of his time, the rough country was distasteful. Pallas apologizes to Ulysses for the roughness of his native land; but she does not fail to portray its good points, and in her speech both the objectionable and ideal aspects of the landscape are summed up with masterly directness and common-sense. She says:

This Ithaca of ours is, indeed, a rough country enough and not good for driving in; but still, things might be worse: it has plenty of corn, and good wine, and always rain, and soft, nourishing dew; and it has good feeding for goats and oxen, and all manner of wood, and springs fit to drink at all the year around.⁴

But what was the Psalmist's ideal landscape? With Homer, as we have seen, it was rich meadow-land or a piece of well-tilled ground.

² *Iliad*, ii, 776.

³ *Odyssey*, ix, 132 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xiii, 236 ff.

Fertility and order are likewise characteristics of the Psalmist's ideal. The Greeks had a horror of the mountains; in this respect alone is their ideal of landscape different from that of Hebrew poetry. The Psalmist, however, in looking up to the mountains admires them not for their picturesque or sublime effects, but because he sees on their fertile slopes the cattle feeding on the rich pasturage.⁵ "He maketh the grass to grow upon the mountains," is an ascription of praise to God; but this verse was not suggested by the beauty of those modest spears of green, as Ruskin would have us believe in the prose poem which he founds upon these quiet words; the Psalmist poet simply looked upon the grass as food for cattle; he looked with the practical eye of the farmer on the abundance of the pasture on the mountains. The context effectually disposes of any poetic interpretation of this verse, and shows the matter-of-fact thought of the Psalmist:

Sing to Jehovah a song of thanksgiving,
 Play to our God on the harp!
 He covers the heavens with clouds,
 He prepares rain for the earth,
 He maketh the grass to grow upon the mountains.
 He gives to the cattle their food,
 And to the young ravens that croak.

The picture of messianic peace and plenty in Ps. 72 is reflected in minor glimpses of agricultural landscape. Ps. 65 is a festal song. It recites the goodness of God in watering the land with the autumn rains, and contains a prayer for more rain, probably the later rain of March and April which is needed to mature the crop.

Thou hast visited the land and watered it;
 Thou hast greatly enriched it;
 The river of God is full of water.
 Thou wilt now prepare their harvest,
 Since thou hast thus prepared it.
 Water its furrows, make its clods even,
 With soft rain make it mellow, bless thou its growth!
 Thou hast crowned the year of thy goodness,
 The paths trickle with fatness,
 The meadows of the pasture-land trickle,
 The hills bedeck themselves with joy.
 With flocks the meadows are covered,
 And the valleys are covered with corn;
 They shout for joy; yea, they sing.

⁵ Ps. 50:10.

In this homely piece of landscape the poet has the eye of a Flemish painter; he delights to fill his landscape with fat beeves and sheep reposing quietly on the green meadows. His fancy takes flight for a moment with the mention of "the river of God"—an allusion to the mythical stream in the house of the skies which is discharged in rain at God's command. But the poet continues in the next line with good common-sense to mark the thirsty furrows and the hard clods, and, farmer-like, he sees the necessity for more rain, and prays for it accordingly. His prayer is answered, and he is so overjoyed at the prospect of a full granary that he rises into the realm of the beautiful and the imaginative. He sings a song of a fair valley, ripe unto the harvest—a broad sweep of yellow cornfields, lying between rolling hills; and hills and meadows sing for joy. This is one of the rare instances in Hebrew poetry where the singer transfers his emotions to natural objects and makes them join man in acclamation to God.⁶

If we would see more of farming life or of agricultural landscape as the Psalmist saw it, we must rely upon slight sketches and few, written by chance as it were. The color is faint, and only broad and hurried lines are used; but the smell of the soil, of the rich, brown earth, is here in enduring freshness after the passage of ages. What an immortal epitome of the farmer's toil, year after year in every century the same, is this exquisite strophe of Ps. 126:

Turn Thou, O Jehovah, our captivity,
Like channels in the dry land.
Those who sowed in tears
Will reap with shouts of joy.
The sower of seed goes forth weeping,
With shouts of joy he returns, bearing his sheaves.

Ps. 129 contains two pictures suggested by sowing and reaping. First the poet exclaims against the wicked:

Ploughers have ploughed on my back,
They have made their furrows long.

Then the poet imagines what shall be their harvest, and he draws a little cameo of the well-known scene in early spring on the roof-tops of Palestine, where a crop of bright-green grass nourished by the

⁶ See Pss. 96:11, 12; 98:7, 8.

rains withers and falls dead before the hot sun. The psalm is also interesting as it contains the ancient Israelitish salutation to reapers, the customary answer to which may be found in Ruth 2:4. But here is the Psalmist's simple picture of ephemeral growth:

It happens to them as to grass on the roofs,
Which withers before it shoots up;
Wherewith a reaper cannot fill his hand,
Nor a binder of sheaves fill his arm;
And those who pass by do not say:
"The blessing of Jehovah be on you,
In Jehovah's name do we bless you!"

Another sinister simile furnished by agriculture occurs in Ps. 141:7:

Just as when a man ploughs and harrows the earth,
Are our bones scattered at the jaws of Sheol.

To the majority of readers, however, the most beautiful piece of landscape-painting in the Psalter is Ps. 23. No two delusions are more popular than to suppose that David wrote all the psalms, and that the background for the Psalms as a whole might well be the pastoral scene of the twenty-third psalm. Few readers of the Psalter imagine that the poets who composed these lyrics were toilers in the busy towns of Palestine, or those who sat in exile beneath the shadow of Babylonian palaces, or simple farmers trimming their vines and planting their corn in the Judea of the Maccabean period. The entrancing loveliness of the twenty-third psalm, the sweet idyl of shepherd life, has cast all other nature-description of the Psalter into comparative obscurity, and we are apt to regard Palestine of old as a land of shepherds and pleasant valleys and winding streams. But, while there have always been and are today shepherds in the Holy Land tending their flocks on the hillsides, the agricultural scenes in the Psalter are more thoroughly representative of the landscape of the country and come nearer to the common ideal of the practical Jew. The twenty-third psalm, however, is the ideal landscape of the smaller shepherd class, and carries with it such an atmosphere of perfect peace and rest that it stands as our ideal of Bible landscape. The poem is wonderfully simple, and, although it is graphic, the effects are obtained by terse, quick sketching—a movement which brings a new image with every line. The divine Shep-

herd, the pastures of young grass, the quiet waters, the sure paths, the gloomy ravine, the defending club and guiding staff, and finally the scene of rude hospitality under the black tent—these pictures come up one after the other in rapid succession, and are drawn almost with unpremeditated art. The attempts of modern commentators to fill in the foreground and background of this simple landscape serve to show the difference between the present genius for detail and the ancient disregard for delicate tints and fanciful touches. The Psalmist finds nothing in the landscape which would puzzle the unpoetical sightseer; he sees green grass and water and a dark ravine; there are food and rest, a kind shepherd, a table at which the stranger finds refreshment and shelter from the avenger. If we would gratify our curiosity as to fine effects and obtain a closer view of the scene, we must seek information from the brush of a modern painter who has visited Palestine, and who can supply us with an abundance of what we term in our modern phrase “local color.” The Psalmist, in his sublime indifference to detail, left a problem for his unexpected millions of readers in his brief allusion to the table prepared in the midst of enemies. At last Professor George Adam Smith⁷ has offered what seems to be a very satisfactory explanation. The whole poem, he declares, instead of the first half alone, as many commentators have supposed, reflects pastoral life. The last two stanzas take us into the shepherd’s brown-black tent, where his table is set and where he dispenses “the golden piety of the wilderness” to “the guest of God,” the man who has shed blood and who is fleeing across the desert wilds with the avenger hot upon his track. By the ancient usage, so remarkable in a rude age, a man was bound to receive the guilty fugitive as a guest, and care for him and protect him from his pursuers during a certain length of time, usually three days. Here is a description of the landscape from the modern writer:

The landscape is nearly all glare, monotonous levels or low ranges of hillocks, with as little character upon them as the waves of the sea, shimmering with mirage under a cloudless heaven. The bewildering monotony is broken by only two exceptions. Here and there the ground will be cleft by a deep ravine, which gapes in black contrast to the glare, and by its sudden darkness blinds the men

⁷ See article on “The Twenty-Third Psalm,” by G. A. Smith, *Expositor*, 1895, p. 38.

and sheep that enter it to the beasts of prey that have their lairs in its recesses. But there are also hollows as gentle and lovely as the ravines are terrible, where water bubbles up and runs quietly between grassy banks under the open shade of trees.

It is strange that a Psalmist poet should have drawn an illustration from pastoral landscape to describe the descent to death, but a scene in Ps. 49 shows the wicked being led by their shepherd, Death, down into Sheol, and being folded there in that dreary, shadowy, underground city, where they are gathered with their fathers and never behold the glad light of day any more:

Like sheep unresisting they are thrust down into Sheol,
Death is their shepherd, and their forms shall waste away;
Sheol shall be their castle for ever,
And the upright shall trample upon them in the morning.

The objectionable aspects of Palestinian landscape are frequently described in the Psalter, although not with any great fulness. The first psalm not only depicts the ideal man, but also shows the fate of the wicked by a reference to nature. The wicked man, according to the philosophy of the Psalmist, shall come to nought, as the chaff which the wind driveth away, the reference here being to the threshing-floor which was situated on a hill where the wind could get a clear sweep at the chaff. The wicked man perishes because God takes no notice of him, and he fades away like a false road, a misleading track, in the illimitable desert sands. The opposite of cheerfulness and usefulness is that which is unfruitful or desert land. Two dangers confronted the farmer: failure of the crops owing to drought, and the ravages of the tempest and the burning fiery wind. The shepherd disliked the rocky gorges and deep ravines where the wild beasts lurked in the covert and the footing was insecure. The pilgrim or merchant dreaded the wide expanse of desert. The exile in Babylon had a highlander's aversion for the flats of the land between the rivers, and sighed for the hills of home. In the Psalter, therefore, if we do not find any set descriptions of the parched land, the waste places, the desert, or the Babylonian lowland, there are numerous allusions which vent these dislikes.

The aversion of the Psalmist poets to the sun-parched landscape, and to the waste place where loneliness and gloom keep company,

even to the loneliness often felt in a crowd, when one is like "the solitary bird on the roof," is nowhere more forcibly expressed than in Ps. 102, supposed to have been written by a fugitive in the wilderness:

For my days vanish like smoke,
 And my bones glow like a brand.
 Parched like the grass and withered is my heart;
 Yea, I forget to eat my bread.
 Because of my moaning my bones cleave to my skin.
 I am like a screech-owl in the wilderness,
 I am become as an owl amid ruins.
 I am sleepless and I mourn
 Like a solitary bird on the roof.

 My days are like a lengthened shadow;
 And I wither like grass.

A second class of landscape metaphors is suggested by pastoral life. The shepherd longs for good mountain paths, for sure footing; he slips into bogs and miry places, he hates the dark ravines. You see him on the edge of a precipice: "If my foot slip, they will triumph. For I stand on the verge of falling" (Ps. 38:16, 17); "Thou hast saved my life from death, yea, my foot from falling" (Ps. 56:13); "Well-nigh were my feet gone from under me, there was nothing to keep my steps from slipping" (Ps. 73:2). In the same psalm the fate of the wicked is described:

It is but on slippery ground that thou settest them,
 Down to ruin thou hurlest them.
 How in a moment they are turned to nothing!
 Gone! Ended by terrors!

The ever-recurring reference to God as "a strong rock" is the commonest metaphor derived from pastoral life.

A very vague description of the desert is contained in Ps. 107:

They who wandered in the wilderness, in the pathless desert,
 And found not a city to dwell in,
 Hungry and thirsty,
 Their soul fainting within them—
 When they cried to Jehovah in their trouble,
 He delivered them from their distresses,
 He brought them on the right road,
 To reach a city to dwell in.

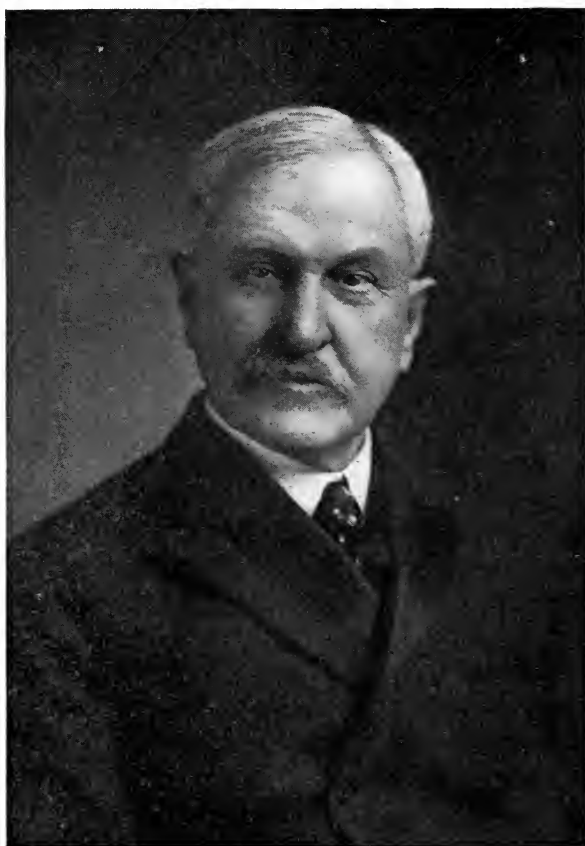
The chief horror in the desert landscape is its tracklessness; it is the danger of going astray and being lost in the dreary sea of sand that impresses the poet most. The monotony of the scenery does not seem to tire his eye, nor do the picturesque elements of desert landscape attract his gaze. He has no eye for brilliant sunsets, or for the sirocco sweeping the desert-floor like a red besom of destruction; he has no word-picture of the oasis, the diamond of the desert, nor yet for the ghastly skeletons of men and camels that line the route of the caravan. Every eastern traveler has described all these aspects of the desert landscape with painful insistence, but no Psalmist poet has sketched such scenes as he saw them. In his practical way he uses general terms and comprehensive figures. The following passage (Ps. 107:33-43) is in his best utilitarian style, and sums up the difference, as he saw it, between an ideal and an ugly landscape:

He turns streams into desert,
And fountains into parched ground,
A land of fruit into a salt waste,
Because of the wickedness of those who dwell therein.
He turns deserts into pools of water,
And parched ground into fountains;
There he settles the hungry,
That they may establish a city to dwell in,
Sow fields and lay out vineyards,
And gather the fruits of the harvest;
He blesses them so that they greatly increase,
And he suffers not their cattle to decrease.
He pours out contempt upon nobles,
And in pathless deserts makes them wander astray,
So that they are minished and brought low,
By oppression of evil and sorrow.
But the poor man he lifts out of his misery,
And increases his kindred like a flock of sheep.

In Memoriam

ERI BAKER HULBERT

Eri Baker Hulbert was born in Chicago, in a house on the site where the Masonic Temple now stands, July 16, 1841. He graduated from Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., in 1863, and from the



Hamilton Theological Seminary in 1865. He received the degree of A.M. from Union College in 1866, of D.D. from the Baptist Union

Theological Seminary in 1880, and of LL.D. from Bucknell University in 1898. He was with the Christian Commission in Grant's army 1862-64. He was pastor in Manchester, N. H., 1865-68; Rolling Mills' Mission, Chicago, 1868-70; First Church, St. Paul, Minn., 1870-74; First Church, San Francisco, Cal., 1874-78; Fourth Church, Chicago, 1878-81. In 1881 he became professor of church history in the Baptist Union Theological Seminary, then located at Morgan Park, Ill. On the incorporation of this school in the University of Chicago as its Divinity School in 1892, he became its dean and head of the department of church history. These positions he retained to the end of his life. He was one of the editors of the *American Journal of Theology* from its foundation in 1897, and an associate editor of the *Biblical World* in 1905-6. He died in Chicago, Sunday, February 17, 1907.

Dr. Hulbert was a sincere and devout Christian, an able preacher and successful pastor, a diligent student and enthusiastic teacher, an efficient executive, a faithful and beloved friend. He endeared himself to his friends by his unflinching humor and his indomitable courage. His deepest interest was in men and in the institutions that make for the welfare of men. A warm personal friend of President William R. Harper from the days when they were colleagues in the school at Morgan Park, he took an important part in the movement by which the Seminary was removed to Chicago and made a part of the University, and entered heartily and sympathetically into the life of the University as a whole. The curriculum of the department of church history as developed under his guidance covered an unusually wide range of study, and laid especial emphasis upon the history of the modern period. Though master of an admirable style, he wrote little for publication. Possessing unusual ability in rousing interest in his subject on the part of his students, he preferred the classroom to the printed page as the medium of his influence on his generation. His death will be mourned and his memory cherished by his students and colleagues in the University of Chicago, and by a large circle of those who in former days have sat under his instruction as pastor or teacher.

EXPOSITORY STUDIES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

III. ISAAC AND JACOB

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ISAAC a LOVER OF PEACE: GEN. 26:12-25¹

I. LITERARY SOURCES

This chapter is practically all from the Jehovist document; cf. vss. 2, 12, 22, 28, 29, where Jehovah is the name for the Deity. Here and there, however, are traces of a later hand. Verse 15, for example, interrupts the sequence of vss. 14 and 16. Its object is to prepare the way for vs. 18, and to connect the story of Isaac with that of Abraham (cf. Gen. 21:25). But for all practical purposes the chapter may be regarded as a unity.

II. EXPOSITION

The facts which tradition recorded about the career of Isaac are very few, and, broadly speaking, his story is but a pale duplicate of the story of his greater father. Except that we are told (if the translation be correct) that he "went out to meditate in the field at the eventide"—and this translation is more than doubtful—there is hardly any distinctive trait in the story which helps us to individualize him. The episode told earlier in this chapter (26:1-11) of his denial of his wife had already been told twice in the narrative of Abraham (Gen., chaps. 12 and 20). This attests the great popularity of the story, but that is all we can say. In the Isaac narrative it may be nothing more than a duplicate version of the Abraham story. Similarly the story of the well of Beersheba told here (26:32, 33) appears also—though the word receives a different explanation—in the Abraham narrative (21:31). There is reason to believe that the traditions about Isaac may once have been more numerous than those recorded in Genesis; but, as it is, we can form no really clear and individual picture of the man. He has been overshadowed by his father and his son.

The story represents him, however, as prospering—growing rich in flocks and herds (vss. 12-14). This, as we have seen, is in accordance with the ancient idea that the elect must prosper, and that the divine favor is manifested in material things. And just as the wealth of Abraham led to

¹ International Sunday-School Lesson for March 10, 1907.

strife and to his ultimate separation from Lot, so the wealth of Isaac brought upon him the envy of the Philistines, whose district he was consequently obliged to leave. There can be little doubt that this very brief story, and the one which follows it, preserve a faint reminiscence of historical fact. There had been some misunderstanding, and no doubt strife, between the ancestors of Israel and the people of Gerar, which was finally settled by treaty at Beersheba. This treaty, as we have seen, is doubly attested—both in the Abraham and in the Isaac group of stories.

According to vss. 18–22, the particular form that the opposition to Isaac took was the stopping of his wells. Water is of the utmost consequence to the flock, and wells were naturally a common object of strife. It is not necessary, however, to suppose that the wells really received their names from these particular incidents. The Hebrew words by which the wells are named really mean “contention,” “enmity,” and “broad places;” and the stories which attach to them may well have been suggested by the words themselves to the facile imagination of those early people. Those who think such an explanation impossible should remember that there are two accounts given of the origin of the name “Beersheba”: one in this very chapter, which explains it as the well of the oath (26:31, 33), and another in 21:30, 31, which regards it as the well of the seven. Other illustrations could be adduced, which make it quite certain that some stories owe their origin to naïve etymological curiosity; that is, that they are attempts to explain the names of people or things.

Vss. 23–25. There is nothing very definite or concrete about this passage. It simply repeats and confirms to Isaac the blessing promised to Abraham, and intimates that Isaac acknowledged the appearance of his God, as was customary, by an act of worship; and by the altar which he erected, Beersheba was constituted a sanctuary. In the author’s own time Beersheba was a sacred place; and this story is one explanation (cf. 21:33) of the origin of its sanctity.

III. APPLICATION

It cannot be said that this passage is rich in homiletic application. It has few independent traits of its own, the first section (vss. 12–17) bearing a general resemblance to the story of Abraham and Lot in chap. 13, and the last (vss. 23–25) repeating the promise to Abraham. No doubt the writer of the middle section (vss. 18–22) intended to suggest that the broad place, where there is room and fertility, is reached only after strife or enmity or opposition of some kind—a lesson already powerfully enforced, under other aspects, by the experience of Abraham. There is no royal road to success; the way to Rehoboth is through Esek and Sitnah.

There is also much profound observation of life in the words of vs. 14: "he became very great and had possessions of flocks and herds and a great household: *and the Philistines envied him.*" The heels of prosperity are dogged by envy; to succeed is to secure the envy of the Philistines.

Incidentally a very suggestive thought is touched in vs. 19: "Isaac's servants digged in the valley, and found there a well of springing water." Striking as this picture is, the Hebrew is more striking still: "a well of *living* water." The idea is suggested that it is the man who digs that finds the living water. Living water for living men: for men who will steadily and bravely cut their way through all difficulty and impediment. The clear, cool water is not to be had for the wishing, but for the digging. Thus, and thus only, can we reach the water, and only thus do we deserve it. Many lives are sapless, unrefreshed by living water, because there has been no digging. We will do nothing more than scratch the surface: most often not even that. We stand lazily upon it, without piercing through it to the thing that would refresh us. We forget that, if we descend to the depths, God is there. There is no living water for the man who will not dig.

How seldom, for example, is study a delight! No great book, least of all Scripture, will yield up all its secrets unless to the fierce persistence of the digger; for those secrets are hidden in the depths. We move airily across its chapters, when we should pause and assure ourselves that deep down are living waters. Surface meanings are for idle souls; the more patiently and prayerfully we search the depths, the more surely and abundantly shall we find that well of water which springeth up unto everlasting life.²

JACOB AND ESAU: GEN. 27:15-23; 41-45³

I. LITERARY SOURCES

This whole chapter, with the exception of the last verse, is often ascribed in its entirety to the Jehovist. A more subtle and rigorous analysis, however, has made it probable that the Elohist has also contributed to the story which the chapter contains. According to one version—if this analysis be correct—Jacob deceives Isaac by wearing goatskin on his hands and neck, and, consistently with this, the blind Isaac "feels" his son; according to the other version, he deceives him by wearing Esau's clothes, and, consistently with this, Isaac smells the raiment. Whether this analysis be justified or not, the story, as we now have it, has been very skilfully written, and may be regarded, for all practical purposes, as a unity.

² Cf. my volume, *In the Hour of Silence*, pp. 131-35 (Revell).

³ International Sunday-School Lesson for March 17, 1907.

II. EXPOSITION

Vs. 15. The blessing was a religious act, and on such an occasion Esau would naturally have worn his best suit. This appears, no doubt in accordance with custom, to have been in the keeping of the mother, who accordingly secures it for Jacob, in order to insure the success of the deception. This is one version; in the other, she puts goatskin on his hands and neck. There may be no very convincing reason why these two acts should be regarded as parallel accounts of the deception; but there is an initial probability that the Jehovist and the Elohist had each his story of deception, and, in any case, the method of deception by means of Esau's clothes is much more subtle and delicate than the other.

The manner in which Jacob wins the blessing is peculiarly offensive to our moral sense. His father is old, supposed to be dying, and blind, and the advantage taken by Jacob of his blindness seems to us more than usually mean. The old man has the gravest doubts as to the identity of his son, but Jacob has made every possible preparation to throw him off his guard; and finally, to disarm his suspicion, he has the effrontery to resort to a deliberate lie: "Jehovah thy God sent me good speed." The lie is all the more disgraceful in that it implicated the divine name. There is something calculating, cold-blooded, and repulsive to a modern taste about the conduct of Jacob throughout this critical scene.

There is always, however, a danger of reading modern ideas into our interpretation of ancient books; and it may be doubted whether those who told and listened to such stories in early Hebrew times were shocked and offended by them as we are. Gunkel has put forward some interesting considerations which suggest that, so far from being offended, they were amused at the clever cunning of their great ancestor, and proud of its triumphant issue. He points out that strictly historical interpretation does not justify us in drawing the morals from the Jacob story which are customarily drawn. Instead, he argues, of being purified of his duplicity by his long exile, he only learns his lesson all the more perfectly; he surpasses Laban in his own art, and shows himself a perfect master of it by his treatment of his brother after his return (33:12-17). Again, he urges, we cannot fail to feel that the story abounds in humor. What hearer could help laughing as he hears of Jacob's attempt to imitate Esau's rough, hairy skin by putting goatskin on his hands and neck? The story they were listening to was that of their own ancestor, and it must have been originally told to glorify him; in his triumphant cunning they find, with delight, their own character reflected. Gunkel even supposes that, in the oldest version of the story, God may have been pleased with Jacob precisely

because of his skill and cunning, but that this trait, and no doubt others similar, were obliterated by the finer moral sense of a later generation. Morality has a history: a skilfully planned piece of deception may be admired for the ability it evinces, while a later and finer moral sense may regard it as reprehensible or even despicable.

There is probably a good deal of truth in Gunkel's contentions. Throughout Genesis we have always two things to consider: first, the impression made by the stories upon the earlier generations among whom they were first circulated; and, secondly, the impression made upon the maturer moral sense of later times. And we must never forget that the writers of these documents were men of fine, sensitive, ethical temper. The material which they handled was brought to them by tradition from times which were rough and rude; but they handled that material in the spirit of the prophets, and to illustrate the great truths of morality and religion.

That this is so, is made very plain by the sequel, vss. 41-45. Jacob must suffer. Esau begins to plan revenge, and his revenge will take the form of murder. To escape this fate the ever elert and enterprising Rebekah urges Jacob to take to flight. He is to go to Haran for a few days. She speaks of his absence as only for a few days, either by way of consolation, or because she really thought it would be brief: she was counting on Esau's superficial nature, and on his anger and resentment being spent in a day or two. If Jacob remained in sight, he would be murdered by Esau; and then Esau would have to take to instant flight, for in accordance with eastern law, the blood-avenger would be on his heels, and thus she would be "bereaved of both her sons in one day."

III. APPLICATION

It will readily be seen that, if Gunkel's view of the passage be correct, much of the customary homiletic use of it will fall to the ground. But on any view of the story, it illustrates a very valuable moral lesson—that *deception is heavily punished*. It is impossible to hide long in a refuge of lies: the rains will come and wash the refuge away, and the liar will have to start upon a long and weary flight. It may be that the earlier narrators regarded the deception as clever; but, clever or sinful, it was costly. The few days of absence contemplated by Rebekah lengthened into years, and we never read that she and Jacob met again. He suffered the hardships of separation from those he loved, and exile in a foreign land; and, in addition to those natural hardships, he had special crosses of his own. And all because he had one day played false. Men forget that the days do not stand by themselves; they are linked mysteriously each to each. What

we sow today, we shall reap tomorrow. And not the sharpest eyes in the world can foresee all the consequences of our acts. We can see only a very little way; no man is clever enough to see to the end. Apart altogether from the immorality of it, sin is simply not worth while. The world is so made that the path of the transgressor is hard. Deception may enable a man to score a temporary success, but he will pay dearly for it in the long run, if not soon. It may drive him away from the land and the friends he loves, and plunge his life into disaster and sorrow.

JACOB'S VISION AND GOD'S PROMISE: GEN. 28:1-5, 10-22⁴

I. LITERARY SOURCES

All three documents which constitute the Book of Genesis are represented in this passage. The first five verses (together with 27:46) are from the late Priestly Document. With its characteristic tendency—which we have already seen illustrated in the story of Abraham—to idealize the patriarchs and their times, it assigns to the departure of Jacob a much more innocent reason than that which was assigned in the older documents represented in the previous chapter. There Jacob's flight is directly due to his deception of Isaac, and his consequent fear of the vengeance of Esau; here it is simply a departure in order to find a suitable wife, and to avoid the snare into which Esau had fallen, of marrying a native of the land.

The very attractive story in vss. 10-22 rests upon the two older documents, the Jehovist and the Elohist. In vss. 13, 16 the name of the Deity is Jehovah: "surely Jehovah is in this place;" in vss. 12, 17, 20, 22 it is Elohim. The two stories have been skilfully enough combined, but it is still quite possible to trace their main outlines. In the one case it is angels that Abraham sees, the angels of God, ascending and descending upon the ladder, (vs. 12), and he says: "This is the house of God" (vs. 17); in the other it is Jehovah himself whom he sees, standing beside him (vs. 13), and he says: "Surely *Jehovah* is in this place."

II. EXPOSITION

It would not be wise to delay long over vss. 1-5. They are interesting as illustrating the later treatment of the patriarchal history; but the real sequel of chap. 27 is to be found, not in these verses, but in vss. 10-22.

Jacob left his father's home (26:23) on his flight toward Haran. At night he rested, as if by accident, at a certain place, which proved to be the scene of a divine revelation. The place was rocky, and with one of the stones for a pillow he dreamt a dream, suggested by the climbing rocks of the mountain-side. He seemed to see a ladder, whose foot was on earth,

⁴ International Sunday-School Lesson for April 7, 1907.

but whose top was in heaven. By this ladder angels were descending from the gate of heaven down to the earth, so that, unlike the customary view of angels, these creatures cannot be supposed to have been winged. Overcome with glad awe Jacob said: "How dread is this place! This is none other than the house of God, and the gate of heaven" (vs. 17). It would be quite unfair to the spirit of this ancient story to take it metaphorically. It suggests to us, of course, that heaven is not far from the earth, and that between the two there is divine communication. But the primary meaning of the story is more literal than this. Heaven is a place with a gate, just immediately above Bethel, and the angels who visit the earth reach it by a ladder, the foot of which is at Bethel. This is the Elohist's version.

There are no angels, however, in the Jehovist version (vss. 13-16). There it is Jehovah himself who appears, and he not only appears, but speaks, renewing to Jacob the promise made to Abraham and Isaac, and adding a promise special to Jacob himself—that he himself would be with the lonely wanderer, and bring him back to his own land. Both stories agree in the fact that the sleeping Jacob was visited by celestial beings: in the one case by angels, who descended to the spot where he is lying; in the other by Jehovah himself, who promises his continual help. Each story accounts, in its own way, for the sanctity of Bethel. When this story was written, Bethel was, and had for long been, a very popular sanctuary. Keen interest would naturally be taken in its origin, and tradition traced it back to Jacob.

Bethel means literally "house of God." In vs. 17 the Hebrew runs: "This is none other than the *beth elohim*," which perhaps originally meant "the house of the elohim," which is strictly a plural word; and the elohim are probably to be identified with the angels of vs. 12. Bethel would then be so called because the supernatural beings, the Elohim, had been seen by Jacob there.

But another explanation of the word lurks beneath the story in vss. 18, 19. Jacob took the stone on which he had been lying, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it. The pouring of oil is a religious act, and the pillar is therefore not a common memorial pillar. It is the regular word in the Old Testament for the pillar which used to stand beside, not only the heathen altars, but even the altars of Jehovah, though it was afterward definitely proscribed by the Jehovah religion (Deut. 16:22) as carrying with it heathen associations. It is practically certain that in earlier times the deity was supposed to reside in the stone; that would explain why it was anointed. According, therefore, to the ancient idea, *the stone itself was the house of God*, the bethel; indeed, this is expressly stated in vs. 22,

and the stone standing beside the Bethel altar when the author wrote, was carried back by tradition to Jacob and his experiences. Thus there are two explanations of the word "bethel;" in the one, it is the house of the elohim, the place where the celestial beings alighted, in their descent, upon the earth; in the other, the word is applicable primarily and strictly to the stone which was the house of the god. In either case the religious ideas, though profoundly suggestive, are primitive.

Vss. 20-22. The vow is also primitive. It is made almost in the spirit of a man driving a bargain; if Jehovah favors Jacob, he will worship Jehovah. Jacob's requests are also purely material; all he asks is food, clothes, and prosperity; and he promises, if his requests be granted, to give the tenth to God.

The whole story is told partly to illustrate the origin of the Bethel sanctuary and the origin of the practice of offering tithes.

III. APPLICATION

The passage is intensely interesting, and shows, better than most, how profoundly suggestive are the simple religious ideas even of primitive times. *God appears in unexpected places.* Jacob had left his home, with its familiar religious associations; but God was greater than the home and the land he left, and Jacob found him—or, rather, God came to him—upon a bare hillside. And not only did he come to him there, but he also inspired him with the assurance that he would be with him everywhere, keeping him throughout his pilgrimage whithersoever he went. To all of us, pilgrims as we are on life's way, but especially to the young who are just setting out upon it, this is a consolation and inspiration of the very first order. The pilgrim's guide is God; and when we leave the familiar scenes we love, he goes before us and with us. "I am with thee, and will keep thee whithersoever thou goest; for I will not leave thee."

"To me remains nor place nor time;
My country is in every clime;
I can be calm and free from care
On any shore, since God is there."

This thought lies very close to the other thought suggested by the ladder with the angels upon it, that *heaven is not far from earth*. Between the two there is communication. The pilgrim may be desolate, compelled to camp, as it were, upon some rocky hillside of life; but even upon those barren stretches he may be visited by experiences which so cheer and assure him that he knows they are sent, like angels, from above, and that from the depths he may ascend upon them to the very gate of heaven.

Finally, the last verse is fitted to teach us *the duty of practical gratitude*. We are debtors to God, and we ought to thank him more than we do. In most prayers, it is petition and not thanksgiving that predominates. But gratitude should not be allowed to remain a mere sentiment; it should find some practical expression. How much the tithe will be, and what form it will take, is a question which each must decide for himself in the light of conscience and Christian principle; but when God has so long kept us on the way we have been going, giving us bread to eat and raiment to put on, is it not fitting that we should give back the tenth, or some other tangible and practical expression of our gratitude, to him?

GOD GIVES JACOB A NEW NAME: GEN. 32:9-12, 22-30⁵

I. LITERARY SOURCES

The prayer of Jacob (vss. 9-12) comes from the Jehovist document, as we may infer from the appeal to Jehovah in vs. 10; but the precise analysis of vss. 22-30 is very difficult. It is hardly worth while, for our purpose, attempting to make it out, but in some places the duplicates are quite obvious. For example, according to vs. 22, Jacob took his wives and children and passed over the ford of the Jabbok; according to vss. 23, 24, he is said to have sent them over, and remained behind alone. The sources underlying the narrative are undoubtedly the Jehovist and the Elohist.

II. EXPOSITION

After twenty years in a foreign land, Jacob is now coming home; but, prosperous though he is, his ancient sin has followed him, and he is haunted by fear of the brother he had wronged in the long ago (vs. 7). But he is still the wily, resourceful Jacob. He knows that it will be wisdom to appease the wrath of Esau, so he sends a gracious message on before, which is also calculated to impress Esau with a sense of the wealth and importance to which he has attained in the interval; and, when his messengers bring back the news that his brother is coming to meet him with a band of armed men, resourceful as ever, he divides his own company into two bands to make as sure as possible, under the circumstances, that at least some of them will escape.

It is at this point that the beautiful prayer occurs. Gunkel may be right in supposing that the prayer, with its fine spiritual tone, is later than the Peniel story of the context, whose religious ideas are primitive. Be that as it may, the setting which has been given it by its editor is very suggestive. It is a practical acknowledgment, on the part of Jacob, that his cunning is

⁵ International Sunday-School Lesson for April 14, 1907.

inadequate to the situation in which he finds himself. He needs the help of God, so he resorts to prayer.

The prayer itself is unusually beautiful. The speaker begins by invoking Jehovah as the God of his father and grandfather, and claims this God as his own God. The God who guided and helped them could guide and help him; and, indeed, he was the God who had already, in the most marked and definite way, come into his life, visiting him with words of promise long ago at the beginning of his pilgrimage, and impelling him at the end to return to his own country; for it was his voice that had said: "Return to thy country and I will do thee good." By the terms of his invocation he reminds himself that God is pledged to take care of him; and then he proceeds to the prayer. It begins with an expression of thanksgiving, couched in terms of exquisite humility: "I am not worthy of all the kindness and the faithfulness which thou hast shewed to thy servant." And how real and definite to him was that kindness and faithfulness we see from the concrete picture of his experience he at once proceeds to add: he had left the land with nothing but his staff, now he was coming back to it with two large camps. It is not till the thanksgiving is over that he ventures to express the petition which is the ultimate object of his prayer—that he may be delivered from the impending danger at the hand of his brother. And he ends by pleading the divine promise.

The next passage (vss. 22–32) moves on a somewhat different religious plane. Jacob is now at the Jabbok, the stream which flows westward into the Jordan, about twenty-five miles north of the Dead Sea. The great crisis of his life has come, and the writer describes the scene with great power. He makes us feel the loneliness, the mystery, the weirdness of it, as Jacob remains in the dead of night on the bank of the stream, after sending his company on before. He is alone, yet not alone; for "there wrestled with him a man"—not, as the sequel makes plain, an ordinary man, but a supernatural visitant who turns out to be God himself. The purely historical interpretation which is interested in truth, rather than in sermons, has to ask what this means. The primitive nature of the religious conceptions underlying the story is undeniable. It has to be noted that the being who wrestles with Jacob does so "till the breaking of the day," and then he asks to be let go. This is in accordance with the idea, already illustrated by Gen. 15:12, 13, which associates deity with the darkness. The "man" with whom Jacob wrestles is clearly conceived as a supernatural being. Note further that "he could not prevail against" Jacob. It is he who asks to be let go, so that Jacob is the victor. This fact throws some light on the earliest form of the Jacob stories. Apparently Jacob was originally

conceived as a man of superhuman strength, a sort of Hebrew Hercules; another hint of this is to be found in Gen. 29:10, where he could roll away the great stone from the mouth of the well. Jacob is strong as well as cunning; and though wounded in the struggle, he is determined to secure a blessing from this mysterious Being before he goes, as go he must, when the day dawns. The blessing takes the form of a change of name: "Jacob" becomes "Israel." The cunning one becomes one who perseveres with God and prevails. His life has been a successful struggle, and in the impending struggle with Esau he will prevail again. So "he blessed him there"—that is, at Peniel; this, then, is the origin of the sanctuary at Peniel. The word "Peniel" means "face of God," and as a promontory on the Phoenician coast bore this very name, it is possible that the same name was given to some great rock or mountain-side near the Jabbok which looked like a gigantic face. The Jacob story, of course, interprets the name differently.

Here, as elsewhere, etymological interests play an important part. They are very plain here and in the name "Israel;" but no less in the word "Jabbok." The Hebrew for "he wrestled" in vss. 24, 25 is *jēūbeq*, which the writer evidently intends to be connected with Jabbok.

III. APPLICATION

The prayer of Jacob (vss. 9-12) is full of suggestion. Coming immediately after the recital of Jacob's skilfully laid plans, it has an almost dramatic effect. God is the ever-present, and too-often-neglected, factor in human life; but the great crises drive men to feel and acknowledge their need of him—their own resources and plans are so obviously inadequate. Again, prayer gathers its confidence, in part, from the contemplation of the past. As Jacob prayed to the God of his father, so we may pray to the God of our fathers—the God who has manifestly moved in history and who has in the past touched our own individual lives. Further, the man must approach his God in the spirit of humility, with such a knowledge of himself as teaches him that he is not worthy of all the divine kindness which has marked his life. Again, prayer should begin with thanksgiving; at any rate, petition should be accompanied, at some point, by a humble expression of gratitude for the past. In most of our prayers there is, if not too much petition, at any rate too little thanksgiving.

To one who is convinced of the truth of the historical interpretation of vss. 22-30 given above, the homiletic application will be, at first sight, attended with difficulties. In the original story Jacob's wrestling is not prayer; as Gunkel humorously says, "in the struggles of prayer one does not

dislocate one's thigh." Nevertheless, the passage is full of suggestion. Jacob is facing a great crisis, and in that crisis is God. It is with him rather than with Esau that he has to reckon: only when he has seen God face to face is he worthy to enter into the promised land. It is really God whom he has now to face; and when he is certain of this, he wishes further to make himself sure of the blessing which God alone can give. But, as Driver says, "he only gains the blessing after his natural self has been rendered powerless." "I will not let thee go until thou bless me," is a word which every man who would face a crisis triumphantly must learn to make his own. The mightiest wrestler meets some time with a Wrestler mightier than himself, and he leaves the contest at once vanquished and victor. He has won the blessing, but, like Jacob who left limping upon his thigh, he may carry the mark of the struggle with him to his grave. He is wounded in that on which he prided himself most; but what of that, if he wins the blessing?

Work and Workers

APPEARANCES indicate that the next important discoveries in ancient history will be made in the soil of Asia Minor. The controversy which has raged fiercely for some years over the daring generalization of Professor Sayce that the Hittites, the children of Heth, from whom Abraham bought the cave of Machpelah, lived in Asia Minor and north Syria, can now be closed. The German scholar Winckler, excavating at Boghaz-keni in northern Cappadocia, has recently found about 2,500 tablets, many of the Tel-el-Amarna period and style, most of them in a language which must be Hittite. He has found the names of all the Hittite kings who came into relations with Egypt, and a copy of the treaty between the Hittites and Rameses written in cuneiform, like the Tel-el-Amarna tablets.

REV. ROBERT RAINY, D.D., principal of New College, Edinburgh, died in Melbourne, Australia, December 22. Dr. Rainy's great work in life was the union of the Free and United Presbyterian churches in 1900. When the legality of that union was questioned, Principal Rainy appeared before the House of Lords and presented the case with tact and true statesmanship. He was for forty years connected with the theological training of the Free Church ministry, and for thirty-two years was principal of New College. Dr. Rainy was a scholar of repute in church history and apologetics. His best-known works are: *The Ancient Catholic Church, Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine, Epistle to the Philippians*, and, in connection with Professors Orr and Dods, *The Supernatural in Christianity*. His death will be deeply felt in Scotland, where he was universally beloved.

DR. BERNHARD STADE, professor of theology at the University of Giessen, died December 7, 1906. Dr. Stade, who celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his appointment as professor in 1900, has occupied a prominent place among the leaders of modern Old Testament science. In 1881 he started the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, of which he remained as the sole editor up to the time of his death. This is the only journal in any language that is devoted exclusively to the consideration of Old Testament problems. It has been the medium of publication for many important articles, some of them of epoch-making significance in their respective fields. In addition to his labors as editor and a frequent contributor to the *Zeitschrift*, Dr. Stade published a *His-*

tory of Israel (1887), which still stands in many respects without an equal; a *Hebrew Grammar* (1879), which was far in advance of all others at the time of its publication; a *Hebrew Dictionary* (1893; with the late Professor Siegfried), characterized by very free handling of the biblical text; and the first volume of a *Biblical Theology of the Old Testament* (1905), which we can only hope was completed before his death.

A CAPITAL pamphlet on *Adult Bible Classes and How to Conduct Them* has been written by Professor I. F. Wood, of Smith College, and Rev. Newton M. Hall, of Springfield, Mass. (Pilgrim Press, Boston). It contains a hundred pages of the sanest and most helpful advice on this part of the Sunday-school work—a department which needs to be reconstructed and revived, along with the other departments of our schools. We have here the choicest kind of wisdom and direction for accomplishing this. The authors also announce for publication some simple but adequate and stimulating outlines for eighteen different courses of study to be pursued by Bible classes. Two of these courses are out of the ordinary as respects their subjects: "The Problems of a Twentieth Century City," and "A Study of the City." This marks the entrance upon a kind of study which the Sunday school has never yet pursued in more than a desultory way, namely, a wrestling with the great vital, practical problems of everyday life. Colleges and social clubs, newspapers and books deal with these questions of supreme importance, and why should not the Sunday school? In fact, the adult department of the Sunday school has failed to become large and strong just because it has not faced squarely and dealt directly and helpfully with the tremendous problems of every-day morality. The Bible class may study for historical or literary information, or for religious and moral impulse, or for general culture, as has been generally done—all that is good as far as it goes. But it does not go far enough. In fact, it exactly fails to reach the goal of true religious education. Why? Because it does not directly, clearly, and strongly grip actual life for its transformation. Let us have young people and adults crown their earlier Bible study in the Sunday school with a vital, practical study of *modern problems*—ethical, social, industrial, commercial, and political—that they may see how religion and morality stand related to everyday life, and may find how Christian principles and the Christian ideal are to be applied to, and realized in, the existing conditions, needs and opportunities of our own present time. We require, and are entitled to, all the help that religion and morality can give in working out the solutions of the tremendous practical problems that face us today and demand our best thought and action.

Book Reviews

A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest.

By JAMES HENRY BREASTED, Ph.D., Professor of Egyptology and Oriental History in the University of Chicago. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905. Pp. xxix + 634.

The day has long gone by when the tales of Herodotus passed for sober history, and the chronology of Manetho and his excerptors was accepted with little or no question. Except where they treat of contemporary matters, Greek writers have proved to be but blind guides for Egyptian history; the Manethonian chronology, after repeated attempts by many scholars to reconcile it with monuments, has been finally demolished within the past few years by Eduard Meyer; and Egyptologists have long since recognized that all investigations into the history of ancient Egypt must proceed upon the basis of the contemporary native monuments. Yet, while a very large amount of inscriptional material has accumulated and is now at the disposal of scholars, much of it is disappointing. The great majority of Egyptian inscriptions were composed, not to record historical facts, but to gratify the vanity of kings and grandees; and it too often happens that, when the chaff of fulsome laudation and empty titles is winnowed away, but few grains of real information remain. All facts that could offend the delicate susceptibilities of the reigning dynasty are rigidly suppressed, and it is only by reading between the lines that the trained observer is able to perceive the true course of events. For some periods, moreover, the available material is extremely scanty, as the utmost diligence of the investigator can glean merely the barest outline.

The writer of a history of Egypt has, therefore, no easy task, and the difficulty is increased by the fact that comparatively few of the published inscriptions are free from error. As it was impossible to rely upon the accuracy of these copies, it became Dr. Breasted's task to lay the foundation for his work by collating anew the whole body of the Egyptian historical inscriptions. For this he had exceptional opportunities. A pupil of Adolf Erman, the founder of the modern school of Egyptology, and associated with his instructor in his work on the great Egyptian dictionary now in course of preparation in Germany, he had ready access to all the material stored in the museums of Europe, and a sojourn in Egypt gave him additional advantages. A valuable result of Dr. Breasted's labors in this

direction appeared in his *Ancient Records of Egypt*.¹ In this work, utilizing the results of his exhaustive collations and interpreting the texts in the light of modern Egyptological science, he presented, in an admirable English version, all the ancient Egyptian historical documents, arranged in chronological order and supplied with explanatory introductions and notes. The *Ancient Records*, important in itself, forms at the same time an invaluable adjunct to the author's *History of Egypt*. It enables the student, aided by plentiful footnote references in the latter work, to consult the inscriptional sources in all cases, and offers an appropriate and convenient repository for all matter of a technical nature, which is very properly excluded from the *History*.

Dr. Breasted's *History of Egypt* is distinctly a modern presentation of the subject, based upon a new and thorough study of all the sources and embodying all the great advances in Egyptology, in which the past twenty years have been especially fruitful. Covering a wide range of time, from the earliest period down to the Persian conquest in 525 B. C., the book is conveniently divided into sections corresponding with the various historical periods into which the subject naturally falls. This orderly and methodical arrangement, which by the way is by no means a matter of course, is of a piece with the general clearness of treatment apparent throughout. Dr. Breasted is evidently no believer in the theory that a book, to be truly scientific, must be dull. He possesses the all too unusual faculty of presenting his subject in an interesting manner, and this faculty is abundantly in evidence in the present work. This is especially noticeable in the chapter on predynastic Egypt. For this early period, while the material documents are rather plentiful, the few written documents that exist reveal little more than the names of reigning monarchs and give but scant hint of the course of historical events. Out of this material, which in less skilful hands might have given rise to a dry archaeological discussion, Dr. Breasted has constructed a picture of Egyptian life, in the earliest times, as fascinating as it is convincing. The preliminary survey (chap. ii), giving a conspectus of the history of Egypt for the whole period covered by the book, carries the reader at once *in medias res*, and supplies the key to the subsequent development of the subject in greater detail. The good judgment and skill with which this has been carried out must impress even the casual reader. Throughout Dr. Breasted writes clearly

¹ *Ancient Records of Egypt: The Historical Documents*. By James Henry Breasted. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1905. Vol. I, "The First to the Seventeenth Dynasties;" Vol. II, "The Eighteenth Dynasty;" Vol. III, "The Nineteenth Dynasty;" Vol. IV, "The Twentieth to the Twenty-sixth Dynasties."

and lucidly. He tells his story in a straightforward and spirited manner and, while no detail of importance is omitted, he is never prolix. This happy combination of judicious conciseness with ample fulness of treatment is a distinguishing feature of the book. The author has incorporated in his work the results of Eduard Meyer's searching chronological investigation² whereby the long-existing chaos in this field has at length been reduced to order, so that the subject of Egyptian chronology now stands upon a secure foundation. According to Meyer's conclusions, adopted by Breasted, a margin of error of about a century in either direction must be allowed in case of any given date from the First to the Eleventh Dynasties, while for the succeeding period the possible error is nowhere greater than a decade. The very great advance in historic accuracy marked by the establishment of Meyer's chronological system, resting as it does upon proof amounting to absolute demonstration, can be best appreciated when it is remembered that formerly, to cite a single instance, the dates assigned by different Egyptologists to King Susru, the last Pharaoh of the Third Dynasty, showed an extreme divergence of nearly a thousand years.

Dr. Breasted's *History of Egypt* marks a very distinct advance. It is an able treatment of a most difficult subject by a thoroughly competent scholar, in accordance with the best principles of modern historical investigation, and the author is to be congratulated upon the production of a work of such excellence both from the literary and the scientific standpoint. The book is profusely illustrated, and the typography is excellent.

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON

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Studies in the Book of Job. By REV. FRANCIS N. PELOUBET, D.D.
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906. Pp. 115. \$1 net.

The story of the "Hebrew Hamlet" still continues to fascinate lovers of the best literature. The adventures of Ulysses, the world-wanderer, are not more entrancing to thoughtful men than those of the man of Uz who never left his tell of ashes and dung. Indeed, this greatest Greek epic of war is in several respects notably inferior to this Hebrew drama of the soul. The last dozen years have produced some of the best commentaries and monographs on Job ever written; yet there was need of just such a book as this, which is not inferior to Moulton or Genung in its power to bring to the ordinary Bible-reader a new and vivid realization of the treasure hidden in this Arabian ash-field, while for teachers it is of unique value.

Its method is pedagogical, and differs from that of all previous writers:

² *Ägyptische Chronologie*. Von Eduard Meyer. Berlin, 1904.

"In addition to the formal plan, general statements, Bible references, and questions, it offers suggestive thoughts, illustrations, practical applications, light from literature, and all that can give, not only knowledge, but inspiration and character-forming power." The bibliography is extensive and well selected. It has five divisions: (1) books and commentaries to be recommended for the members of an ordinary Bible class; (2) commentaries which give more or less of the critical processes and results; (3) monographs on Job; (4) sidelights; (5) comparisons and contrasts with other literature. The commentaries mentioned are exclusively in English or translations. The monographs include such works as Peake's *Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, Wall's *Oldest Drama of the World*, Froude's *Essay on Job*, etc. As "sidelights," Mozley's *Essays*, Bushnell's *Moral Uses of Dark Things*, Hinton's *Mystery of Pain*, Hall's *Does God Send Trouble?* and Professor Butcher's *Harvard Lectures on Greek Subjects, Greece and Israel*, are recommended; while such writers as Aeschylus, Sophocles, Plato, Goethe, Dante, Milton, Shakespeare, Browning, and even Zola and Omar Khayyam, are well and freely used in the illustrations and comparisons from "other literature."

The book is not written "critically," but the only unfair antagonism of criticism which the reviewer has noted is in a quotation from Genung affirming that critics think of Elihu's speeches as a later addition because "for their conception of the poem's scope and purpose he is in the way; they cannot help desiring his absence"! While Peloubet is a great admirer of Genung, he does not usually follow him in his dogmatism, nor in his peculiar transactions, nor in his worst misinterpretations—as, e. g., the meaning of the Elihu speeches. As Dr. Peloubet, however, almost invariably accepts the old views of Job—dating it in the time of the Judges and putting to one side all questions even of text-criticism—it would be well if the ordinary reader could supplement this work with some other small and clear but critical volume, like Driver's *Book of Job* (Clarendon Press, 1906). It must be admitted that, with the exception of Driver, there is scarcely a modern critical commentary fitted to the needs of the man of the street. To come to Peloubet after reading a typical modern commentary on Job is like coming to the home fireside from a surgeon's operating table. This poem as it comes from the hand of its latest biblical editor may be "lame in its feet," but its author has a heroic soul and is a fit companion with the princes of literature. This Mephibosheth, counted by all poets and all scholars worthy to sit at the same banquet of honor with David, the sweet singer of Israel, and with Solomon the Wise, cannot be understood by the chiropodist absorbed with his work beneath the table. That the book as it stands has

gained such a position in literature is good proof that it is not such a collection of scraps as some critics have supposed. Peloubet, at any rate, is sure of this, and approvingly quotes the remark of the *London Spectator*, that "it is as impossible that a first-rate poem or work of art should be produced without a great master-mind to conceive the whole as that a fine living bull should be developed out of beef sausages." However, such discussions take but little space, lying outside the main purpose of the book. To use another of the author's figures: "It is not the history of the violin we want, but the music." Accepting the poem just as we have it, he thinks it to be a perfect, artistic whole, and works out from the book with much skill his four solutions of the "Mystery of Suffering in God's World, in its Twofold Aspect—its Relation to God, and its Relation to Man." These solutions which our author believes to be systematically developed in the argument are: Part 1, "Trouble Is a Test;" Part 2, "Trouble Is a Punishment;" Part 3, "Trouble Is a Discipline;" Part 4, "Trouble Is an Insoluble Mystery;" Part 5, "The Good Man Always Comes to True Success at Last."

How far the author's success in harmonizing all portions of the argument to this symmetrical scheme is dependent upon his plan of selecting the passages for comment which seem most spiritually appropriate, only giving attention to "dark passages" when "the seemingly dull and commonplace stone broken open by the hammer of a word of comment reveals a cluster of jewels," must be left to each reader to determine.

CAMDEN M. COBERN

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Hebrew Ideals: From the Story of the Patriarchs. Part II. Gen., Chaps. 25-50. By REV. JAMES STRACHAN, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906. Pp. 170. \$0.60.

This book, written for young students, is an attempt at appreciation, not criticism. It is not a study of documents, and does not attempt to go behind the narratives in Genesis, but regards them as a faithful reflection of the prophetic ideals of the ninth and eighth centuries B. C. Outside of a single sentence in the preface of Part II, there is hardly a note of time or a historical allusion. The result of this for most readers, especially those unfamiliar with the reconstruction of Hebrew history, is an unconscious anachronism. The moral ideals of the ninth century are pushed back a thousand years or more to those rude days before the emergence of nomadic Israel into the more settled life of agriculture. A very few pages of intro-

duction might have avoided what was certainly not intended by the author. In the preface to the first part Mr. Strachan says: "If we except the Psalms, no book in the Old Testament contains such a fulness of Hebrew life and thought as the book of Genesis." This is hardly an exaggeration. It might, however, be more exact, if he had extended his single exception of the Psalms to include the works of the earlier prophets, themselves the creators of the moral idealism of the ninth and eighth centuries B. C., of which the book of Genesis is but one example. The problem is yet unsolved as to whether these ideals became at that time the property of the nation at large, or whether they were advocated by a handful of seers who had caught a vision of the Eternal Righteousness.

The only question of seriousness which forces itself upon the reader is this: Has Mr. Strachan given us what were really the moral and religious ideals of the ninth century B. C., or what are rather the moral and religious ideals of our twentieth-century Christianity? It is a difficult task to portray with historical fidelity the ideals of the founders of the Hebrew race. They are enshrouded with mist. In the past it has been almost the universal habit to give the patriarchal players upon the stage of the Old Testament the mask of a mediaeval saint. The problem to which this book sets itself is much easier. Myth and legend have given way to veritable history. The sources are manifold. It must be confessed that in some slight degree Mr. Strachan's book is open to criticism on this count. One lays down the book with much the same feeling as one has after studying Holman Hunt's "Light of the World"—beautiful, but a bit too modern, and therefore unreal.

The book from a literary point of view is worth reading. It is really a collection of sermons. The pragmatic predominates over the historical, just precisely as it did in the case of the preacher of the ninth century B. C., whose character-sketches form the subject of these homilies. The book is full of apt quotations, not so much from exegetes or historians, but from preachers and poets. In no surer way can the newer point of view commend itself to the common-sense of the Christian world than by multiplying such studies as this which Mr. Strachan has given us.

CLIFTON D. GRAY

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New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

ARTICLES

GIESEBRECHT, F. The Moral Level of the Old Testament Scriptures. *American Journal of Theology*, January, 1907, pp. 31-55.

A survey of the character and growth of the ethical ideal in Israel, with the intent to show that this phase of the Old Testament religion is a most powerful argument for its divine origin.

TORREY, C. C. The Nature and Origin of "First Esdras." *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, January, 1907, pp. 116-41.

A very careful and suggestive discussion of the relation of First Esdras to the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The author's conclusion is that "it is simply a piece taken without change out of the middle of a faithful Greek translation of the Chronicler's History of Israel in the form which was generally recognized as authentic in the last century B. C. This was not, however, the original form of the history, but one which had undergone several important changes." The article also seeks to discover the original form of the Chronicler's history for this period, and arrives at the conclusion that neither the order of events as given in First Esdras nor that found in the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah is the original sequence as it left the hand of the Chronicler himself.

VAN HOONACKER, A. Notes d'exégèse sur quelques passages difficiles d'Osée. *Revue biblique internationale*, January, 1907, pp. 13-33.

An interpretation, based in part upon emenda-

tions of the text, of Hos. 4:4, 5, 18; 5:1, 2, 11 6:8, 9; 7:3-7; 8:6; 9:13. Some of the passages are approached from entirely new points of view.

NOORDTJIZ, A. Musri. *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, January, 1907, pp. 50-79.

This is the third and last of a series of articles devoted to a thoroughgoing examination and criticism of the hypothesis of Winckler and others that the name Egypt (= Mizraim) is in many places in the Old Testament employed to designate an Arabian district rather than the region along the Nile. Noordtjiz rejects the theory *in toto*, and his discussion is by all odds the best extant upon this side of the subject.

GUTH, W. W. The Unity of the Older Saul-David Narratives. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXV, pp. 111-34.

An article marshaling the evidence that the older narratives of the books of Samuel and Kings concerning Saul and David are all three from one writer. The task is well done.

JASTROW, JR., M. A Babylonian Parallel to the Story of Job. *Ibid.*, pp. 135-91.

A translation and interpretation of an old Babylonian story "told for the purpose of discussing and illustrating current doctrines regarding the reason of suffering, the weakness of man, his proneness to sin, his dependence upon the gods, the necessity of humility in the presence of the higher powers, and the justification of supreme confidence in Bel or Marduk." On the basis of several points of resemblance to the story of Job, the author suggests that the Hebrew story was derived through Edom from Babylonia.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

SCOTT, ERNEST F. The Fourth Gospel; Its Purpose and Theology. Edinburgh: Clark, 1906; New York: Scribner. Pp. 379. \$2 net.

A thorough study of the theology and the religious value of the Fourth Gospel, based upon the general critical conclusions as to its authorship and date. The author finds its religious value as great as ever, but sharply criticizes its Logos doctrine, as too

speculative and at variance with the Synoptic representation.

REID, JOHN. Jesus and Nicodemus: A Study in Spiritual Life. Edinburgh: Clark, 1906; New York: Scribner. Pp. ix+288. \$1.75 net.

A series of studies of Jesus' interview with Nicodemus, characterized by literary skill and religious insight.

BURKITT, F. C. The Gospel History and Its Transmission. Edinburgh: Clark, 1906. Pp. viii+360. \$2 net.

In these ten lectures, delivered before a popular audience, Professor Burkitt discusses a variety of problems, chiefly relating to the origin of the gospels, of which he finds Mark the earliest and Matthew and Luke dependent upon it and upon a discourse document which may have been the Logia. Luke and Acts were written by Luke, but after 93 A. D., for they show the influence of Josephus. John is valuable as a philosophical presentation of Jesus rather than as a history of his life.

ARTICLES

PORTER, FRANK C. The Sayings of Jesus about the First and the Last. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1906, pp. 97-110.

Professor Porter shows that sayings about the

first and the last reported in the gospels probably go back to utterances of Jesus of an ethical rather than an eschatological nature, and suggests that other moral sayings of Jesus have similarly been made to bear an eschatological meaning.

GREGORY, C. R. John 5:7, 8. *American Journal of Theology*, January, 1907, pp. 131-38.

The famous Comma Johanneum, on the Three Heavenly Witnesses, cannot be traced farther back than the Spanish heretic Priscillian, 380 A. D. It is rare in Vulgate manuscripts earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century, and of course in Greek manuscripts has no status whatever. Recent discussions of it by Roman Catholic scholars show that many of them are disposed to reject the interpolation despite the decree of the Council of Trent (1546), the finding of the Inquisition (1897), and the authority of the Vulgate.

RELATED SUBJECTS

ARTICLES

WARFIELD, B. B. Africa and the Beginnings of Christian Latin Literature. *American Journal of Theology*, January, 1907, pp. 95-110.

The great indebtedness of Latin Christianity to North Africa is vividly shown; indeed, the Africans appear as from first (Tertullian) to last (Augustine) to be the leaders of Latin Christian thought.

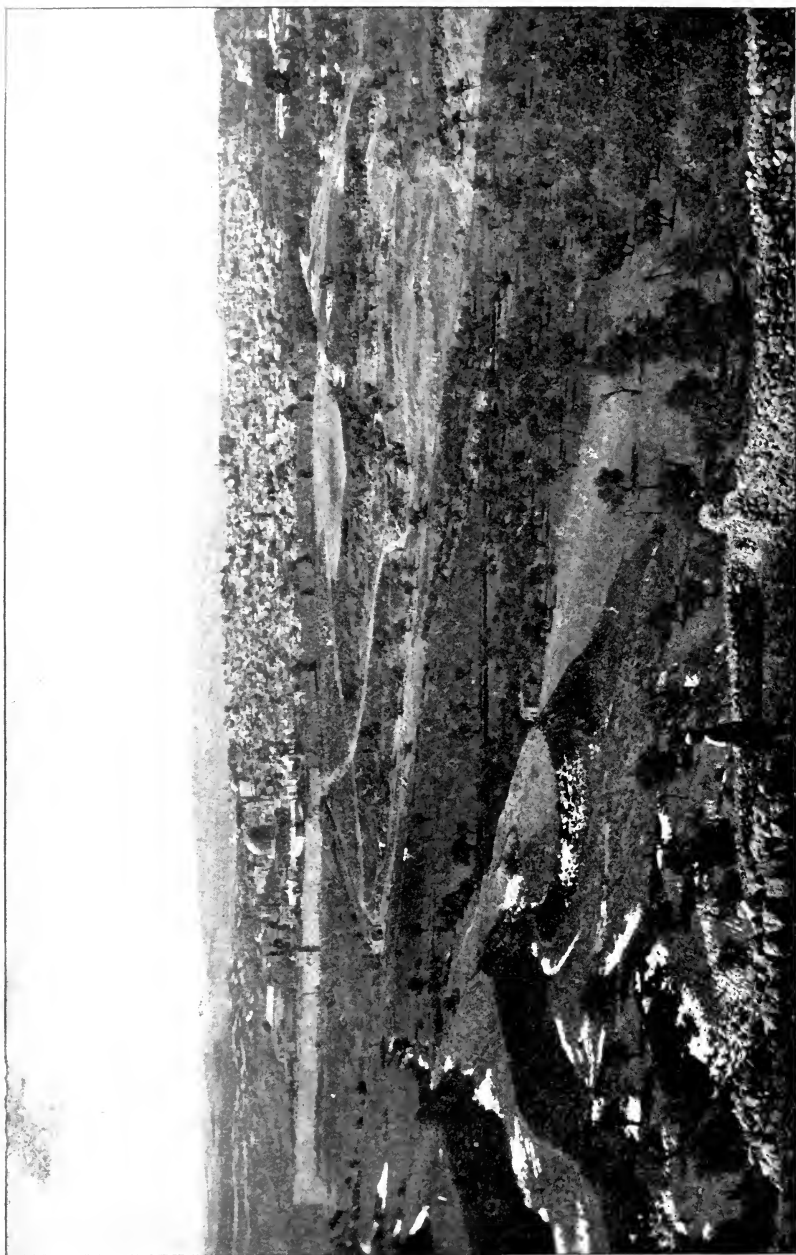
FORREST, ALBERTINA A. The Cry

"Back to Christ;" Its Implication. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-73.

The cry "Back to Christ" is held to be "unscientific and pre-evolutionary."

PORTER, FRANK C. The Sufficiency of the Religion of Jesus. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-94.

A searching inquiry into the real content of Jesus' teaching and Christian faith, concluding that, so far from having outgrown Jesus, the modern religious seeker will find God only through him. The cry "Back to Christ" has thus a real justification.



JERUSALEM FROM MOUNT SCOPUS

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Editorial

THE RELIGION OF THE BIBLE THE RELIGION OF EXPERIENCE

Of the questions on which Protestant Christians are divided today none is more vital than this: Is our religion fundamentally the religion of an authoritative book, or the religion of experience? The former conception has undoubtedly been the prevalent one in the past. Modern Protestantism, rejecting authority-religion in the ecclesiastical form, ended by establishing it in the biblical form. The supremacy which it denied to the Church it ascribed—not wholly consistently, to be sure, but with full intention—to the Book. Its infallibility, inerrancy, and sufficiency for all the needs of the religious life have become the watchword of a certain school of thought claiming for itself, with a certain degree of right of possession, the title of orthodox.

But this view, never quite consistently carried out, has of late years been, with increasing boldness, challenged by some who for the Book as infallible arbiter would substitute experience as the judge on the bench of last resort. To their fundamental postulate that in religion, as in all other fields of human life and activity, men must gain truth and wisdom through the study of experience, the advocates of this view would add three affirmations: First, that only he who has himself a religious experience can apprehend the truths of religion; second, that no man's experience is so broad or deep that he does not need to add to it a knowledge of that of other men, and the larger and deeper such knowledge the better; and third, that, while one cannot assume at the outset the normative character of all the experiences even of all the good men whose experiences the Bible records, or the permanent authority of all its commands or teachings, and while an investigation undertaken without the

assumption of such a proposition does not itself issue in establishing it, yet the religious experience recorded in the Bible is of such exceptional depth and breadth, and its record is so exceptionally valuable for the promotion of religious life, that it demands and rewards the most thorough and discerning study.

Is such a view heretical? If it is, then the Scripture is itself heretical; for this is the view of the prophets and teachers whose teachings and writings make up the Bible. The prophets believed each in his own message, but they did not hesitate to dissent from the views of their predecessors when their own experience or their own study of human experience generally led them to take a different view. Isaiah in the presence of the invading Assyrian assures his contemporaries of the inviolability of Zion; his contemporary, Micah, putting a different interpretation upon precisely the same phenomena, unhesitatingly declares that Zion shall be plowed as a field. Conspicuous among such dissenters from the views of the past were Jesus and Paul. Sincerely reverencing the Scriptures of the Old Testament and using them for the development of their own spiritual life and that of their contemporaries, both Jesus and his great apostle freely dissented from the teachings of the Old Testament on important matters of detail, in which deeper experience or deeper insight enabled them to see truth more clearly than their predecessors in Israel had apprehended it. Peter and Paul had had experiences which, though fundamentally alike, were in important respects different; the result appeared in a fundamental agreement in conviction with important differences in detail. Each was willing to learn from the other, but each held the convictions to which his own experience, and that of others as he knew it, led him. But the appeal of Jesus and the apostles was not simply to their own experience as a source of truth within themselves which outranked that of the earlier prophets and teachers. They appealed also to the experience of their hearers and readers to verify their teachings, thus recognizing a value and authority in the religious experience of men as such.

This was also the view of some at least of the Reformers. Luther did not hesitate—with bad judgment perhaps, but in principle following in Paul's footsteps—to decide by the test of experience what portion of the New Testament really contained the essence of the

gospel. Haltingly, but yet constantly, even while honestly denying that they were doing so, Christians of all ages have dissented from those teachings which seem to them contradicted by experience, and ignored and practically rejected those which they could not appropriate. That they have often limited their own experience by failure to apprehend and enter into the richer experiences of others is undoubtedly true. That they ought to have been more willing to learn from others, and that experiences that seem superior to our own should lead us, not to deny their reality, but to strive to find out what they may mean for us, is not less true. But the fact remains that the convictions that are of value are those that relate themselves to experience, finding a point of attachment in our own past experience and inspiration and stimulus in the larger experiences of others, and developing richer experience in ourselves.

Is not this, then, the truth, that the religion of the Bible is itself the religion of experience, and that, too, in the double sense that it is itself built upon experience, and that it teaches those to whom it comes to start from and to build upon experience? We are persuaded that this is the case, and that the time is ripe for the defense and proclamation of this old view. A just zeal for the Bible, a just recognition of its incomparable value, demands that we shall cease to hinder its effectiveness by practically denying what it teaches, and by affirming of it what it never itself affirms and the affirmation of which is neither defensible by evidence nor calculated to increase its effectiveness in the promotion of religious life. If once perhaps there was reason to fear that the too open affirmation of this view would harm the cause of religion by leading men to take a less reverent attitude toward the Bible, that is no longer the case. The progress of religion is hindered today, in many quarters at any rate, by the timidity of those who seek to preserve the credit of the Bible by affirming of it what they have no evidence to prove, what the book itself refutes.

Let it, then, be frankly affirmed that the revelation of God is through experience, personal and racial, and demands a growing experience for its growing apprehension. Let it be preached from every pulpit that Christianity is not the affirmation of a dogma about the Book or the Church, or the acceptance of any series of propositions

approved by a council, but a life, in which the soul facing the light of truth accepts that truth, and living by it fits itself for ever larger apprehension and larger living. Let it be not grudgingly confessed, but gladly proclaimed, that the Spirit of God speaks to every rational human soul, and that no man attains righteousness of heart or standing at the bar of heaven by professed or forced assent to that to which the Spirit in him gives no response.

And, confessing this, let us with new courage and hopefulness urge men to take up and prosecute the study of the Bible. Let us remind them that not what a man believes about the Bible, but what he appropriates from it, determines its value and helpfulness to him. Let us bid men stimulate and nourish their own spiritual life by coming into sympathetic contact with the richer and higher experiences of the great men of past times. Let no man make the foolish mistake of drawing a circle about his own life and making his own experience the measure of the possible, starving in an isolation of his own creating; let him sit reverently at the feet of the great souls of the ages, above all at that of Jesus the Word of God, and aspire to realize in himself those splendid possibilities which their experience has proved to be within the reach of men. Let him know that not by assent to affirmations, but by fellowship with the divine, men climb to the heights of spiritual achievement. Let the Bible be studied and taught with all diligence and zeal, not as itself the Word of God, or as a collection of infallible oracles, but as the priceless treasury of the deeper religious experiences of the race and of the most enlightening revelation of God through his prophets, apostles, and Son. For because it is these, it is also the great creator of deep and rich experience in men of today.

When the Bible is studied thus, it will take on, for many minds at least, a new interest and a new helpfulness. Stumbling-blocks that have hindered approach to it will be taken out of the way; new vistas will be opened up, new incentives both to study and to the appropriation of the results of study will be found, and the effect of the study will be correspondingly more enriching and more edifying.

JERUSALEM IN BIBLE TIMES

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IV. THE CITY OF DAVID

The two main valleys of Jerusalem, Wâdy Sitti Maryam, or the Kidron, and Wâdy er-Rabâbi, or the Hinnom, form a wedge-shaped

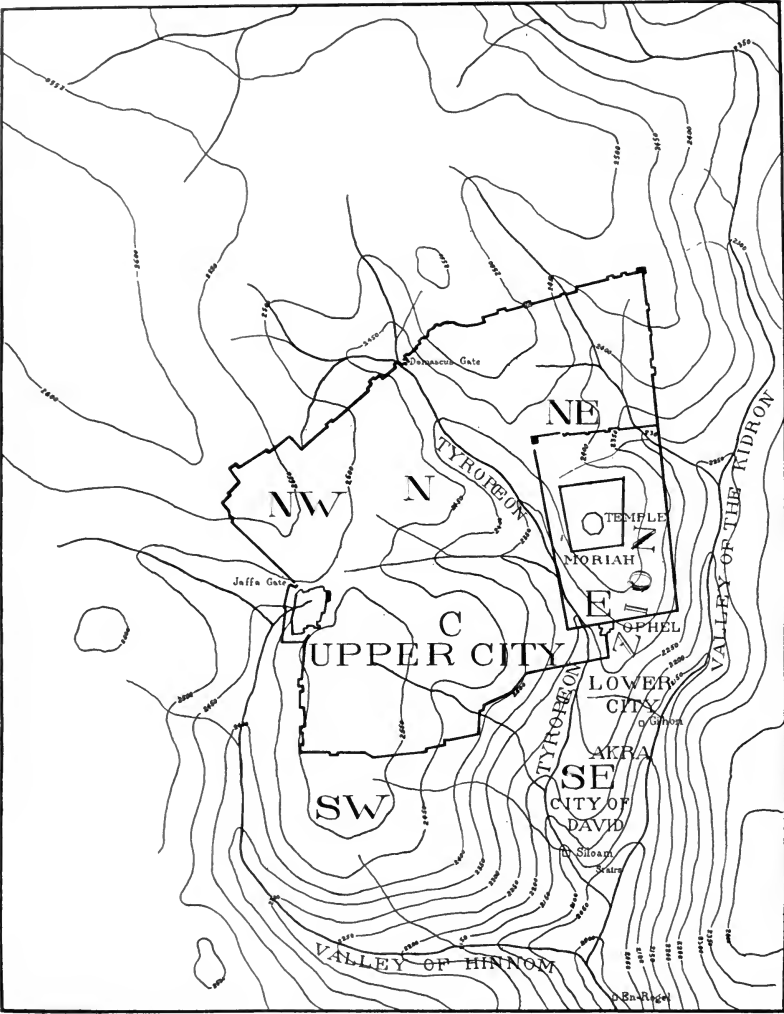


Photograph by L. B. Paton

THE WESTERN HILL OF JERUSALEM

plateau that is cut off from the surrounding country on the east, south, and west, and that is connected with the tableland of central Judea only on the north. This plateau is divided by El-Wâd, the ancient Tyropocon, into two unequal divisions, which we may call the west hill and the east hill.

The west hill is three times as large as the eastern one, and at its highest point, near the southwest corner of the city, rises to a height of 2,550 feet, so that it overlooks the Temple mount. By the arms of



THE HILLS OF JERUSALEM

the valley, El-Wâd, this hill is subdivided into four smaller hills. The first lies in the northwest corner of the present city, and may be designated as NW; the second lies between the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the main valley El-Wâd. It is cut off from NW by a small arm of the western branch of El-Wâd that comes down from the vicinity of the Church of the Sepulcher. It may be designated as N (the north summit). The third summit lies in the southwest corner of the city, and may be designated as SW. Separated from it by the southern branch of El-Wâd is a fourth slight elevation, which we may designate as C (central hill).

The smaller eastern hill, on which the Mosque of Omar lies and on which the ancient Temple stood, is narrow, and curves in a crescent shape from northwest to southeast and then again to southwest. Its highest elevation, in the northeast corner of the city on the site of the Dome of the Rock, is a little over 2,400 feet. It is subdivided by one of the arms of the Kidron that runs across the upper end of the Mosque inclosure into two main summits. The northernmost of these lay outside of the limits of the ancient city. An arm of this branch, running from west to east across the northern end of the H̱aram area, forms two small hills; and the excavations of Guthe south of the H̱aram area seem to show that there was another small valley south of the Temple which separated the southern end of the eastern hill from the summit on which the Temple stood. There were, thus, three peaks to that portion of the eastern hill which lay within the ancient city limits. These may be designated for brevity as NE (northeast summit), E (the east central summit), and SE (southeast summit).

The task now before us is the identification of the hills and city quarters mentioned in antiquity with these seven summits of the modern city. In this investigation we shall follow the order in which the hills are first mentioned in the Bible, and in the discussion of each we shall examine the evidence in chronological order. This is the only safe method; for it frequently happens that names are shifted from one locality to another in the growth of tradition, so that it is dangerous to start with late references and to work backward from them.

The first hill mentioned in the Old Testament is the strong-

hold of the Jebusites which David captured and renamed after himself. In II Sam. 5:6-8=I Chron. 11:5 f. we are told:

And the king and his men went to Jerusalem against the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land; which spake unto David saying, Except thou take away the blind and the lame thou shalt not come in hither: thinking, David cannot come in hither. Nevertheless David took the stronghold of Zion; the same is the City of David. And David said on that day, Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites, let him go up by the watercourse And David dwelt in the stronghold, and called it the City of David.



Photograph by L. B. Paton

THE EASTERN HILL OF JERUSALEM

The fortress of the Canaanites here mentioned must have lain near a water supply; in fact, this is indicated by the allusion to the "water-course." Gihon, the modern Virgin's Fountain, is the only spring in the immediate neighborhood of Jerusalem; it seems certain, therefore, that ancient Jebus was situated near this spring. This naturally suggests a position on SE, from which hill Gihon is most accessible. The allusion to the "water-course," or "gutter" in II Sam. 5:8 is plausibly interpreted as referring to the ancient tunnel which Warren discovered leading from the top of the eastern hill down

to the Virgin's Fountain. The statement of this same passage, that Jebus was so strong that the blind and the lame could hold it against an enemy, shows that it had a fine natural location. This is truer of SE than of any other part of the city. Inaccessible cliffs surround it on all sides, except on the narrow neck at the north which connects it with the upper ridges of the eastern hill, and this could easily be protected with a rampart. SW and NE are higher hills, but they are not so easily defended. Before artillery was invented, SW must have been well-nigh impregnable, and military authorities are agreed that it is the most likely location for the ancient stronghold of Jebus.

David's flight recorded in II Sam., chap. 15, does not mention the City of David, but implies that he lived on the eastern hill, inasmuch as his first halting-point was the valley of Kidron (cf. vs. 23).

The statement of I Kings 1:33, that Solomon was sent down to Gihon to be anointed, also suggests the nearness of David's residence to this spring. In a sudden emergency, when everything depended upon haste, David would not have been likely to send Solomon to a remote fountain. If the City of David was located on SE, it was necessary merely to drop down over the edge of the hill to be at the sacred place.

In none of the passages where the City of David is mentioned is one said to "go up" to it. David brings the ark into the City of David (II Sam. 6:10); the ark goes in (II Sam. 6:16 = I Chron. 15:29); Solomon brings the daughter of Pharaoh into the City (I Kings 3:1). These statements show that the City of David did not lie on high ground. They are appropriate to SE, which is considerably lower than all the other hills; but they are not appropriate, if the City of David was situated upon SW (its traditional location), or upon any of the other hills. On the other hand, it is always said that one "goes up" from the City of David to the Temple and to the Palace which Solomon built on E adjacent to the Temple. Thus, in I Kings 8:1 = II Chron. 5:2, "Solomon brought up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the City of David;" I Kings 9:24, "Pharaoh's daughter came up out of the City of David into her house which Solomon had built for her" (cf. II Chron. 8:11). This language is explainable only if the City of David lay on SE, which is considerably lower than E, the Temple hill.

In Isa. 29:1, 2, 7 we read:

Ho, Ariel, Ariel, the city where David encamped! add ye year to year; let the feasts come round: then will I distress Ariel. . . . And the multitude of all the nations that fight against Ariel, even all that fight against her and her stronghold, and that distress her, shall be as a dream.

From this it appears that the City of David is identical with Ariel, "the hearth of God," where the feasts are celebrated; that is, it is identical with the Temple mountain.

According to Ezek. 43:7, the kings of Judah have defiled the Temple by putting their sepulchers close to it; but the tombs of the kings were in the City of David (cf. I Kings 11:43; 14:31; 15:8; 15:24; 22:50; II Kings 8:24; 9:28; 12:21; 14:20; 15:7; 15:38; 16:20); the City of David, therefore, must have been adjacent to the Temple on the eastern hill. We know that NE was not built upon until a late period. Consequently the City of David can have lain only on SE.

Neh. 3:15 records:

The fountain gate repaired Shallun the son of Colhozeh, the ruler of the district of Mizpah; he built it, and covered it, and set up the doors thereof, the bolts thereof, and the bars thereof, and the wall of the pool of Shelah by the king's garden, even unto the stairs that go down from the City of David.

From this it appears that the stairs of the City of David were adjacent to the Pool of Siloam and the King's Garden at the mouth of the Tyropoeon Valley. This shows that the City of David lay on SE, immediately above the Pool of Siloam. The same conclusion is demanded by the narrative of the procession of the Levites in Neh. 12:37, who went from the Fountain Gate, which lay in the Tyropoeon close to Siloam, to the stairs of the City of David, and then onward to the Water Gate, which lay in the east wall of the city above Gihon. The excavations of Frederick Bliss on SE have disclosed a number of steps cut in the rock at the southern end of SE. In all probability these are identical with the stairs of the City of David mentioned by Nehemiah.

II Chron. 32:30 records that Hezekiah "stopped the upper outflow of the waters of Gihon and brought them straight down on the west side of the City of David." If, as we have seen, Gihon is the Virgin's Fountain in the Kidron Valley, this water-course of King Hezekiah

can only be the tunnel which runs under SE from the Virgin's Fountain to Siloam. Consequently the City of David can only be SE, on whose west side the Siloam tunnel empties.

II Chron. 33:14 narrates that Manasseh built "an outer wall to the City of David on the west side of Gihon in the brook (*nahal*)."

"Gihon in the brook" is the Virgin's Fountain, and the wall of the City of David west of Gihon can only be a wall on the eastern side of



Photograph by L. B. Paton

THE STAIRS OF THE CITY OF DAVID

the eastern hill. These last two passages in Second Chronicles are derived from ancient sources, and consequently have a higher historical value than statements of the Chronicler himself.

In I Macc. 1:33 we read: "They builded the City of David with a great and strong wall with strong towers, and it became unto them an Akra;" also in I Macc. 7:32, 33: "They fled into the City of David; and after these things Nicanor went up to Mount Zion and there came some of the priests out of the sanctuary;" I Macc. 14:36: "They were taken away also that were in the City of David, they that were in Jerusalem, who had made themselves an Akra, out of which

they issued and polluted all things round about the sanctuary." These passages indicate that the City of David which the Greeks turned into their Akra, or stronghold, was in close proximity to the Temple. Its precise location is not stated, but it must have been somewhere on the eastern hill. Since the City of David has been identified with SE by all previous references, it is natural to understand it of the same hill in these passages.

Josephus mentions the City of David in *Ant.*, vii, 3:1, 2.

Now the Jebusites, who were the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and were by extraction Canaanites, shut their gates, and placed the blind, and the lame, and all their maimed persons, upon the wall, in way of derision of the king; and said, that the very lame themselves would hinder his entrance into it. This they did depending on the strength of their walls. David was hereby enraged and began the siege of Jerusalem, employing his utmost diligence and alacrity therein. . . . So he took the Lower City by force, but the Akra held out still; whence it was that the king, knowing that the proposal of dignities and rewards would encourage the soldiers to greater actions, promised that he who should first go over the ditches that were beneath the Akra, and should ascend to the Akra itself and take it, should have the command of the entire people conferred upon him. So they were all ambitious to ascend, and thought no pains too great in order to ascend thither; . . . However, Joab, the son of Zeruiah, preceded the rest; and as soon as he was got up, cried out to the king, and claimed the chief command. When David had cast the Jebusites out of the Akra, he also rebuilt Jerusalem, and named it the City of David, and abode there all the time of his reign. . . . Now David took possession of the Upper (some MSS. read "Lower") City: he also joined the Akra to it and made it one body: and when he had encompassed all with walls he appointed Joab to take care of them. It was David, therefore, who first cast the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, and called it by his own name, the City of David.

In this passage Josephus identifies the City of David with the Akra and regards it as part of the Lower City, which he contrasts with the Upper City. By the Akra he means the stronghold of the Hasmonaeans, for he quotes First Maccabees in numerous places where he speaks of it (cf. *Ant.*, xii, 3:3; 6:2; 7:6; 9:3; 9:4; 10:4; xiii, 1:3; 2:3; 4:9; 5:2; 5:11; 6:6; 6:7; *Wars*, i, 2:2). In other passages also he equates Akra with the Lower City. Thus, in *Wars* i, 1:4, we read: "So he ejected them out of the Upper City, and drove the soldiers into the Lower, which part of the city was called the Akra," *Wars*, v, 4:1: "The other hill, which was called

Akra, and sustains the Lower City, is of the shape of a gibbous moon;" *Wars*, v, 6:1: "He also held that fountain, and the Akra, which was no other than the Lower City." Accordingly, it is clear that, if we can identify either the Akra or the Lower City with one of the hills of Jerusalem, we shall know where Josephus located the City of David.

The most important passage on this subject is *Wars*, v, 4:1:

The city was built upon two hills, which were opposite to one another, and had a valley to divide them asunder, into which the houses on both hills descended continuously. Of these hills, that which contained the Upper City was much higher, longer, and straighter. Accordingly, the stronger was called Phrourion by King David; he was the father of that Solomon who built the first Temple; but by us it was called the Upper Market-Place. But the other hill, which was called Akra, and sustained the Lower City, was of the shape of a gibbous moon. Over against this was a third hill, but naturally lower than Akra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times when the Hasmonians reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, a mind to join the city to the Temple. They then took off part of the height of Akra, and reduced it to a less elevation than it was before, that the Temple might be superior to it.

The location of the first of these hills, which Josephus calls the Upper City, is certain. All modern topographers identify it with SW. This corresponds with Josephus' description of it as the highest of the hills, and with what he says about the inaccessible valley which defended it. The third hill, which Josephus says lay over against Akra, is not quite so certain. Spiess (*Das Jerusalem des Josephus*) thinks that it was NW, but it seems plain, from what Josephus says in this passage about the cutting-down of the Akra hill until it was lower than the Temple, that the third hill is the Temple hill. On this point there is general agreement. In regard to the location of the second hill, the Akra, or Lower City, there is, however, no consensus of opinion. Every one of the seven hills except SW has been suggested by someone as its location.

1. The monk Brocardus in 1283 suggested that the Akra was NW, and he has been followed by Robinson, Conder, Fergusson, de Saulcy, Pierotti, Gatt, and many others. This view is open to a number of insuperable objections. Josephus describes the Akra as lower than the Upper City; but NW is higher than SW. Josephus describes Akra as a hill; but NW is not an independent summit,

but is part of the same ridge with SW. Josephus says that both of the hills of Jerusalem were inclosed with deep valleys; but NW is not inclosed in this way. Josephus says that a valley between Akra and the Temple hill had been filled up in his day, so that it no longer existed; but the valley between NW and the Temple has not been filled and is clearly seen to this day. Josephus describes Akra as shaped like a gibbous moon; but this does not apply to NW. First Maccabees and Josephus both state that Akra lay so near to the Temple that it was a constant menace to the worshipers. This was not true of NW (cf. I Macc. 1:33-40; 14:36; *Ant.*, xii, 7:6; 9:3). In *Wars*, vi, 8:4, Josephus states that when Titus had captured the Upper City the people fled to Akra; but by the capture of the second wall NW was already in his hands, and the Roman soldiers were encamped there (cf. *Wars*, v, 8).

2. Fallmerayer in 1852 identified Akra with N. He has been followed by Williams, Lewin, DeVogüé, Warren, and Schick. This theory is open to nearly all of the objections that have just been urged against NW. N is not inaccessible from all sides; is not an independent hill, but is a part of NW; is not gibbous-shaped; is not so adjacent to the Temple as to be a menace to it; and the valley between it and the Temple is not filled up. Of all the Akra theories this is the least plausible.

3. The theory that Akra lay north of the Temple on NE has been advocated by Williams, Schultz, Krafft, and Schafer. This theory has the advantage of placing Akra near to the Temple, as the statements of First Maccabees and Josephus demand. The valley between this hill and the Temple has also been filled up, as Josephus asserts. The objections to this view are that NE is not appreciably lower than SW, and that it is higher than the Temple; whereas Josephus asserts that, after the capture of Akra by Simon, it was cut down until it was lower than the Temple. Furthermore, no part of NE was included in the first wall of the city, as described by Josephus (*Wars*, v, 4:2). Consequently, if, as First Maccabees and Josephus assert, Akra equals the City of David, Akra cannot have lain north of the Temple.

Against all three of the theories which place Akra in the northern part of the modern city, the fact may be urged that this quarter lay

outside of the inner, northern wall of the old city. This wall, according to Josephus (*Wars*, v, 4:2), began at the Tower of Hippicus, near the Jaffa Gate, and ran straight east along the western branch of the Tyropoeon to the west cloister of the Temple. When Josephus asserts that the ancient city lay on two hills, and that it was inclosed on the north with three walls, he evidently implies that the two hills lay inside of the innermost wall. In that case we are to look for the Lower City as well as the Upper City south of the line extending from the Jaffa Gate to the west cloister of the Temple. Accordingly, Akra cannot be identified either with NW, with N, or with NE.

4. Tobler first proposed to identify Akra with C. In this he has been followed by Mommert. This view has the advantages of putting Akra inside of the innermost wall, and of making it adjacent both to the Upper City (SW) and to the Temple hill (E); but it is open to the following objections: Josephus states that the Akra was cut down by Simon until it was lower than the Temple; but C is not lower than E. Josephus also asserts that the valley between Akra and the Temple was filled up with material obtained by cutting the Akra down; this is not true of the valley between C and E, which still forms a deep gorge. *Wars*, vi, 6:2, says that a bridge connected the Upper City with the Temple, but this bridge ran from C to E. Consequently, Josephus regarded C as a part of the Upper City. It cannot, therefore, be identified with the Akra or Lower City.

5. The theory that the Akra was the Temple hill itself, and that the Lower City lay in a ring around the Temple, has been advocated by Thrupp and von Alten; but it is impossible, because Josephus distinguishes the Temple hill as a third hill different from both the Upper and the Lower City, and because the Lower City was in existence in the time of David, while the Temple quarter was not laid out until the reign of Solomon.

6. The one theory that remains is to identify the Akra=Lower City=City of David with SE, where we have found the City of David to be located by all earlier authorities. This view was first proposed by Olshausen. It has been adopted by Caspari, Menke, Riess, Furrer, von Klaiber, Benzinger, Buhl, Guthe, W. R. Smith, G. A. Smith, and other leading modern authorities. It does justice to all the statements of Josephus previously quoted. SE is lower than

SW, the Upper City; it is separated from it by a deep valley, the Tyropoeon; it is lower than the Temple hill; and there is no valley at present between it and the Temple, although the excavations of Guthe seem to show that such a valley once existed. Whether Josephus is correct in saying that the Akra was originally higher than the Temple, and that there was once a broad valley between the two, we are not called upon to investigate. The only fact that concerns us is that in his own time it was lower than the Temple, and that no valley then existed. The eastern hill also answers to the description of being gibbous-shaped. This hill lies south of the inner wall of Jerusalem, and consequently does justice to the statement that the city consisted of two hills at the time when it was inclosed with its first wall. When one reads that the city of Jerusalem lay upon two hills, one thinks immediately of SW and SE separated by the deep El-Wâd. Any other identification of the Lower City compels us to assume that the Tyropoeon is not the principal valley that runs through the heart of the city, but some insignificant gully that enters this valley from the west. Tacitus in *Hist.*, v, 11, also speaks of Jerusalem as lying on two hills, and by these he means SW and SE.

Josephus quotes all the passages in First Maccabees that describe the Akra as near to the Temple. He must, therefore, have located it upon the east hill. *Ant.*, xiv, 16:2, says that when the outer court of the Temple and the Lower City fell into the hands of the Romans, the Jews fled into the inner court and into the Upper City. This implies that the outer court and Lower City were adjacent. The same is implied in *Wars*, ii, 17:5, where it is said that the rebels held the Lower City and the Temple; and in *Wars*, iv, 9:12, where one of the towers erected at the corner of the Temple controlled the Lower City. In *Wars*, vi, 6:3, Akra is combined with Ophel—a quarter of the city which is known to have lain immediately south of the Temple. In *Wars*, vi, 7:2, after the taking of the Temple, we read: "The Romans drove the robbers out of the Lower City and set all on fire as far as Siloam."

It appears, accordingly, that Josephus located the Akra or City of David in the same place where it is located by all the earlier references in the Old Testament and Apocrypha. The one passage which is supposed to contradict this view is *Wars*, v, 4:1, where we are told

that David called the Upper City the stronghold; but the word used here is not "Akra," but "Phrourion." In not one passage does Josephus put the City of David elsewhere than on SE. There is, accordingly, an unbroken tradition in favor of the location of the City of David on SE, from the earliest times down to Josephus. After the destruction of Jerusalem the City of David was supposed to have lain on SW, where today the tomb of David is shown by the Moslems; but there is no trace of this tradition before the fourth century A. D., and it is worthless over against the large body of ancient evidence in favor of SE.

SOCIAL DUTIES

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CHAPTER II. SOCIAL DUTIES RELATING TO THE FAMILY

II. MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

1. PRESUPPOSITIONS OF THIS DISCUSSION.—It is taken for granted throughout these studies that the student is making himself familiar with the teaching of the Bible on each topic and giving them reverent heed. On the subject of marriage and the family we have conflicting pictures and customs; the polygamic family of the patriarch Abraham, the permission of divorce in the laws of the Hebrews, the apparent prohibition of divorce by Jesus, the criticism of Paul that marriage is a kind of inferior moral state over against his almost sacramental view of the institution as a symbol of spiritual union with God. We are not attempting here to make a biblical study,¹ but rather to look straight at marriage as a present-day social fact, and to discover what conduct is required in view of the entire situation. After directing attention to a few of many important considerations the class will be asked to think of others and endeavor to weigh them.

2. DEFINITION OF MARRIAGE.—Marriage in our time and land is the voluntary union of one man and one woman for life-companionship. It is assumed that both parties are old enough to understand their act; that there is no compulsion of either; that they are physically and mentally fit for marriage. These conditions do not always exist, but they are regarded in our country as necessary to a right marriage. That which public opinion generally approves as best has been in varying degree expressed in the laws of states and the interpretations of courts.

The legal definition of marriage is based on the social belief that

¹ Good helps in this field are afforded, and references supplied, by the reverent and earnest book, *Social Significance of the Teachings of Jesus*, by Jeremiah W. Jenks, 1907. On this special subject of the biblical teaching on marriage and divorce, see the article of Professor E. D. Burton in the *Biblical World*, February and March, 1907.

certain actions, habits, and customs are necessary for the common welfare, and the definition already given to describe the customary thought is substantially that which we find in laws. Marriage legally begins with a voluntary act of both parties to the contract; but after that act the union cannot legally be dissolved without the permission of the proper judicial authorities. The lawyers say that marriage begins with a free act, but that it becomes a "status." The social reasons for this will appear. From most contracts the parties may be freed simply by mutual consent, and ordinary business partnerships may be dissolved by agreement in private and without notice to others. But marriage is a legal contract like no other. There are a few eccentric persons who declare that marriage ought to end at any time when both members of the union agree to have the relation end; and their reasoning is specious. We can answer them best by showing what are the consequences of marriage—how far-reaching, enduring, and profound; that these consequences are not merely personal and private, but also social and affect the entire community in all its interests.

3. EFFECTS OF MARRIAGE—ECONOMIC.—What are some of the effects of the marriage union? First of all there is at once a mutual interest in the work and business which are to furnish support for the family formed in marriage. The labor or business activity of a man has for its purpose, not merely his own support, but that of his wife and children. "Self-support" includes maintenance of wife, children, and the aged or infirm. Leaving out of account a comparatively few persons who have inherited estates and can live without work, the vast majority of men must receive for the service they render to society return enough to maintain one, two, or more other persons. When the employer pays a workman, he must on the average include enough to support parents and young children. When a farmer tills the soil, he wins a product for the support of the entire family. If wife and children help in the labor, the reward must go to a common fund in which all share according to their needs. Property in lands, machinery, merchandise, railroads, and all else is essentially family property. When a man dies, he usually gives his accumulated wealth in parts to his widow and children and nearest family relatives. All the results of savings, effort, thrift, and commerce flow to the family.

An important modification of this statement must be made in respect to those great fortunes which fall into the hands of a very few fortunate masters of industry and commerce, and which are not in any proper sense earned by the owners, but which are built up largely by the services and sacrifices of all industrious members of a community. In such cases, even when the acquisition has not been promoted by fraud and oppression, the duty to share the wealth with the entire community, and not to leave it all to the family who have done nothing to earn it, has come to be recognized in large gifts and legacies to public uses, in inheritance taxes, and in the moral demands of enlightened teachers of morality. But even in these exceptional cases all admit that the family has the first claim.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie has clearly and explicitly taught the world, by books and by action, that accumulated wealth, after the family is reasonably provided for, is morally, if not legally, public property and should be redistributed as community wealth. The amazing gifts of other owners of colossal fortunes are sometimes accompanied by a modest and high-minded confession that the gift was a recognition of the common ownership of exceptional wealth and of the stewardship of all possessions. This does not imply a confession that fraud or other conscious injustice was a part factor in the acquisition.

4. EFFECTS OF MARRIAGE ON HEALTH.—Usually the health of the members of the little community depends on the conduct of that circle. The preparation of food, the proper care of the household, the condition of the place of rest, the recreations, the social atmosphere of the residence, are factors bearing on vitality and industrial efficiency. The health or sickness of a child is a factor in the welfare of the commonwealth and nation, as President Roosevelt has wisely and strongly insisted. When parents act in a way to jeopardize the physical well-being of each other or their offspring, the national life bleeds from one of its arteries.

5. SOCIABLE NEEDS.—The satisfactions of the desire for companionship are in great measure dependent on the home. Husband and wife are companions on most intimate terms and with a great variety of undivided interests. Suspicion and distrust can be endured between persons who live at a distance, but they make purgatory where human beings must occupy the same rooms and eat daily at

the same table. One can let the neighbor churl pass him with his surly mien and hard salute or averted eye, but in the home even a slight is felt as a dagger's thrust. The social virtues, which are so necessary to the comfort and happiness of a community, are cultivated, if at all, in the home.

In this connection should be studied the effects of all kinds of limited-marriage schemes, every one of which, however cunningly disguised under specious phrases, is a return toward savage and animal unions. Among animals, and even among some of the lower races of men, with their frequent marital changes, physical modesty is rudimentary or unknown. Modesty has been developed as a protection to chastity, purity, and health. The tendency of frequent and easy divorce, or even of indulgence of a thought of the possibility of divorce and remarriage while a spouse is living, is to brutalize both man and woman. Monogamous marriage tends, if permanent, to cultivate and refine that modesty which stands with flaming sword to guard the paradise of chastity. Mrs. Browning's expression is none too strong, that "God is sad in heaven" when he sees how "all our towns made offal" of our daughters. Prostitution, which is a return in extreme form to the casual sexual relations of brutes, causes not only the spread of loathsome physical disease among guilty and innocent alike, even to the third generation, but it transforms the guilty into cynical skeptics in regard to the very possibility of clean living. What must be the insidious paralysis of the finest feelings of manhood and womanhood to meet in street and assembly a number of previous consorts still living!

6. BIRTH OF CHILDREN.—Normally and naturally the consequence of marriage is the birth of children. It is this which seems to historical students to have first created the family² and family life is always incomplete without children. Children are for a long time

² Numerous studies of domestic groups of primitive races of men seem to indicate that the earliest permanent groups were of mother and child, the father having little to do with them after the child is born. But the very helplessness of infant and often of mother gradually compacted and cemented the union. A temporary sexual union is not a family in any true sense, and hence it seems none too much to say that "the child created the family." It is interesting to note, as a result of recent statistical studies of vast numbers of families, that those marriages which produce children tend to be more permanent than childless marriages. (See Henry Drummond, *The Ascent of Man*.)

dependent on adults for physical care and support, and for education. Who are required by the facts of life to provide this maintenance and fitness for existence? The central and decisive fact here is that both father and mother, having entered marriage by free contract, and having agreed to perform the duties of that relation, are the sole persons responsible for the entrance of the child into life. It is in accordance with this fact that our civilization, by custom, sentiment, and law, requires both father and mother to carry this burden.

What would be the consequence of permitting parents to desert their children and cast the burden of support on others? The first result would be that infant mortality would be frightfully increased; for we already have enough such cases to teach us that a mother who abandons her babe greatly increases its chance of death, no matter what may be done by others. The effect on mother and father of desertion of children is disastrous both to physical health and to character. Parents need the children for their own sake as truly as children need parents, though not in the same way. Nature has provided instincts of affection in adults so that, when a babe is born, these affections begin to develop in all normal and healthy persons. Unless impeded by false and artificial conditions, ideas, and customs, parental love grows with the child and provides for it without legal pressure. The conduct and character of parents are the earliest and most essential factors of the education of the child. This point requires special discussion at another time; its importance cannot be overestimated. Children are imitative, and their affection and respect induce them first of all to imitate their own parents.

The support and education of children by the family is a public and not a merely private concern. If the little ones are left by parents to starve, then the country loses its laborers and citizens; and if they are fed at public expense, then some persons must carry an unjust part of the burden. The expenses of the public for charity are already enormous, and much of this is due to neglect of children by unfit parents. If the children grow up ignorant, dishonest, thievish, feeble, lying, unclean, diseased, obscene, profane, they are pests in the community. While the family has a private life of its own, the whole community has an interest in its permanence, its purity, and its morality, and must insist that the family perform its task faithfully.

7. SOCIAL ACTION TO DEFEND SOCIAL WELFARE.—Since personal advice is inadequate here, the community is compelled to find a method of social action which will protect the public interest. Public teaching, church discipline, social criticism, newspaper publicity, are among the ways in which society secures obedience to its requirement that parents must maintain and properly educate their own offspring. But where such means fail, more severe and forceful measures are adopted. In some states—as Colorado, Illinois, and Indiana—the parents are made to appear before the judge of the juvenile court, if they have by negligence contributed to the misery or immorality of a child, and they are punished if they refuse to perform their duty to the utmost limit of their ability. If through ill-health and poverty they cannot provide for the physical and moral needs of the children, private and public charity are called upon to assist.

Divorce laws rest upon this fact, that the conduct of married persons, especially where children are involved, is a public and not a merely private concern. If a man could desert his wife at any moment he pleased, the result would frequently be cruelty to the woman. She might be abandoned at the hour when she became burdened with the care of a child of which the deserting husband is father. This would mean either that an excessive load would be cast upon her in a time of helplessness, or that neighbors should work to support one who ought to have been cared for by her husband.

As marriage has consequences of public interest, and ill-advised marriage carries with it results of the greatest injury to the community, it is the right and duty of the community to surround it with all necessary safeguards to prevent such marriages and to secure that only they marry who are fitted to enter into this relation. "Easy marriage," for which many clamor, is the fruitful source of endless evils. Among the safeguards against unwise marriage none perhaps is more effective or salutary than publicity, through the requirement that no marriage shall be entered into without due public notice. This notice has in some lands and times been by announcements in the church for several weeks before the wedding ceremony, by publication in print, by registration in a public office. Secret marriages frequently end in misery and shame. Designing and unscrupulous men often induce

ignorant and foolish girls to marry them, only to find that the men have already been married several times and have deserted their wives in the hour of extreme need. An immoral young man will sometimes persuade a girl to elope with him secretly, because he knows that, if the event were public, his true character would be exposed and the woman would refuse him. This publication should be given some weeks before the wedding, in order to give time for all necessary inquiries and for suitable reflection. The consequences of marriage are so serious and complex that it should be preceded by full knowledge and abundant time for consideration.

Much can be said for the plan of having the same county officer act as the authority to issue licenses, for performing the act of legal recognition, and for registration of the marriage. At present many marriages are performed in secret, without previous publicity, and ministers often forget or neglect to have the celebration registered afterward. A civil marriage should be the only legal essential in forming the union, but parties would still be free to have a more solemn celebration at home or in church, with all the ceremonies and sacred associations which are customary and useful.

In this view a minister would not have any of the rights or obligations of a civil officer; and in a country where church and state are separate, as with us, this seems logical and proper. A minister frequently feels obliged to refuse to solemnize a marriage even when the parties come to him with the license of the state, on the ground that one of them has been improperly divorced. But, if he is a state officer, it does not seem proper for him thus to refuse to honor the document issued by the state; he seems to reflect upon that same law-making power under which he accepts a public office.

8. ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TO DIVORCE.—The church is not obliged to accept the divorce pronounced by the courts of a state as final and satisfactory. For example, a divorced man who has married while the first wife lives may ask for membership in a church on the ground that he has been legally divorced from this former wife. But many things are legal which are not moral, much less on a level with the morality required for membership in a church. On the other hand, the church cannot insist that its rule should be made the law of the commonwealth. It may be that divorce is civilly desirable,

"for the hardness of their hearts," to prevent worse evils, while not moral according to the standards of conduct set up for themselves by religious men. The law permits and countenances many acts which a person of high honor will not permit himself, nor countenance in his familiar associates.

Some legal provision must evidently be made for the protection of married persons to whom the marriage itself was a wrong. Thus the law very properly annuls the marriage of a young child who is in development of body and mind utterly unfit. The law rightly releases a woman from the legal control of a man who gained her consent to marriage by base and brutal concealment of some physical imperfection or loathsome disease. Probably it would have been still better to provide legal methods of preventing such marriages in the beginning; but annulment of the marriage is under such conditions a partial remedy. An innocent woman ought to have the help of a court to release her from any legal control of a man who after marriage becomes cruel and dangerous through low vice and inveterate habits of drunkenness or use of drugs. It is sometimes the duty of a woman, especially when the life, health, and morals of her children are at stake, to make use of the legal protection offered by the courts.

After all this has been said, many personal problems will remain for which no law can be framed. If a woman should secure protection from a vicious husband by a divorce, should she, as a Christian woman, regard herself at liberty to marry again? Or should she endure her cross and try to save her husband by long-suffering patience? In a similar situation, what is the duty of a man? There is the story of Hosea, used as a parable of the amazing pity of God to sinners. There are the teachings of Jesus, never intended for enactment into law to be enforced by penalties. We come here upon one of those questions which cannot be answered in a legalistic temper by a rule imposed from without. In the spirit of Jesus the individual must decide for himself and cast his burden on the Almighty, praying for help to know and do that which is highest and most worthy.

TOPICS FOR CLASS INVESTIGATION AND REPORTS

1. What is the law of marriage in your own state?
2. What license is required, and how is it obtained?
3. What record is made of marriages in the county? Have a member of the

class ask the registering clerk of the county how many marriages are not recorded, and how he knows. Ask him how many ministers and others officiating neglect to return certificates for record.

4. What persons and officials are authorized to perform the legal ceremony?
5. What are the advantages of a public religious ceremony?
6. On what grounds can a man or woman obtain a divorce in your state?
7. What reasons are given in ordinary society for permitting divorce on each of these grounds? What do you think of these reasons?

REFERENCES TO LITERATURE

G. E. Howard, *A History of Matrimonial Institutions*, especially Vol. III.

Felix Adler, *Marriage and Divorce*. (A noble book, though, we think, not quite fair to the Christian church at some points.)

C. F. and C. F. B. Thwing, *The Family*—a historical and social study.

Report of the United States Department of Labor on *Divorce Laws*, 1889. The government is now (1906-7) engaged on a fresh study of those laws enacted after 1889—an exceedingly useful work.

Reports of Dr. S. W. Dike (Auburndale, Mass.), National League for the Protection of the Family.

THE BIBLICAL TEACHING CONCERNING THE HIRELING AND THE PAUPER

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The discussion of the hireling is closely connected with the treatment of the allied subjects. Slavery, which in its various forms lay at the basis of early civilization,¹ was highly developed before hired free labor became a factor in human society. Concubinage, a modified form of slavery, existed from the beginning, and supplied in no small way the industrial demands in the primitive state of society. The foreign resident, *ger*, the stranger dwelling under the protection of the family or tribe to which he did not belong, though not a slave, was bound to render service as a recompense for the protection he received.² The *corvée*, or forced labor, demanded by a ruler of the subject, which was sometimes paid for in wages to the workers, oftener not, while perhaps not affecting ordinary wage labor, is yet to be mentioned in this connection.

A. THE TEACHING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

In the earliest codes (J and E, the Ten Commandments, the Book of the Covenant, etc.) the hired servant is not referred to. This fact would indicate at least that work for wages was not so common as to have become a subject for legislation. Careful regulations for the slave are made, however, in both the pre-exilian and post-exilian laws. The principal passages bearing upon the status of the slave

¹ It is not likely that the institution of slavery ever attained the importance in Israel that it did in other nations. For example, Whitehouse, article "Slavery," in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, compares the number of slaves in Athens in 309 B. C. which was 300,000 as against 45,000 citizens, with the number of slaves at the return of Israel from captivity, which was 7,337 as against 42,360. The comparison is not conclusive, of course, owing to the different conditions of the two nations.

² He was to be dealt with in kindness (Deut. 10:19; 26:12); to enjoy sabbath rest (Ex. 20:10; 23:12; Deut. 5:14); to participate in the Feast of Weeks (Deut. 16:10 f.); of Tabernacles (Deut. 16:13 f.); offering of first fruits (Deut. 26:11); share the tithes (Deut. 14:28); gleanings of the field (Deut. 24:19); and have justice (Deut. 24:14).

are: Ex. 21:1-11; Deut. 15:12-18; Lev. 25:39-55. All these, with the exception of Lev. 25:44-46, deal with the Hebrew bondman. The rules that apply to bondmen "of the nations"—i.e., foreign slaves—are radically different from those applying to slaves of their own countrymen.

1. *The period of service of a slave.*—The period of service of the Hebrew slaves was six years³ (Ex. 21:2); after that liberty.⁴ If the slave does not choose freedom, the master shall accept him as a bondman forever (Ex. 21:5, 6). If he were married when he entered into bondage, wife and children may go out with him (Ex. 21:3). If the wife was given him by his master, then wife and children shall remain in bondage.

In the next, the deuteronomic code, the master is required when the time of bondage is over, to provide liberally for the departing slave, in recognition of his great service to his master, from his flocks, his corn and wine, for now he is regarded as his brother. Nothing is said about his family, but wife and children probably accompanied him (Deut. 15:13, 14). In the Levitical law, the post-exilic, the fundamental principle seems to be recognized that the Hebrew slave was not to be regarded any longer as a slave, but as a hired workman, who was to go free at the year of jubilee (Lev. 25:39, 40) with wife and children unto the possessions of his fathers. While in bondage he is to be treated kindly, as a "brother" or "sojourner," and not to be ruled over with rigor. The Law of Holiness (Lev., chaps. 17-26) seems to aim at the practical abolishment of Hebrew slavery, leaving it to be little else than compulsory service for debt.⁵

With the foreign slave, purchased or captive in war, the law did not deal so mercifully. He was a bondman forever (Lev. 25:46). Yet in case of a foreign captive woman who had been made a concubine there were certain restrictions (Deut. 21:10 ff). She could

³ This seventh year in which the slave is to go free is not to be confused with the sabbatical year (of which Cheyne says that we have no evidence of its existence in pre-exilic times). It has only a remote analogy to the sabbatical year.

⁴ This law of release does not seem to have been observed (Jer. 34:14).

⁵ The case of a Hebrew in bondage to a foreigner is interesting (Lev. 25:47-55). So near does the condition approach that of free paid labor that it is said (vs. 53): "As a servant hired year by year shall he be with him: he shall not rule with rigor over him in thy sight."

not be sold into bondage, but was to be set free in case her owner was not pleased with her.

2. *The rights of the slave.*—The bondman was protected in his person from cruelty on the part of the master (Ex. 21:20, 21, 26, 27); if a fugitive from his master, he could be returned only with his own consent (Deut. 23:15).⁶ He was entitled to circumcision, and thus to membership in the religious community, which carried with it the right of participation in the feasts⁷ and the guarantee of the sabbath rest.⁸

There was little that was harsh in the treatment of the slave in the earliest times. In the tribal form of society the slave was part of the family, and subject to the will of the head of the family in much the same way that children were. A slave was sometimes the trusted counselor of his master.⁹ He was sent on important embassies.¹⁰ He might even become a master's heir.¹¹ And sometimes he married his master's daughter.¹² In a time when personal liberty was a thing ill defined, it can readily be seen that in many cases the condition of servitude might be preferable to freedom. Attachment to a clan or tribe being essential to safety and life, it would matter little about the form of that attachment, whether as an offspring, as a sojourner, as a slave, or as a hired servant; though the last might well be the least desirable of them all.

3. *The hired servant.*—Though not mentioned in the earliest code, the hireling is the subject of legislation in the later ones. References to hired labor are, however, so infrequent that it is difficult to determine the place which the hired workman filled in the life of Israel.

In the deuteronomic law it is stipulated that the hired servant is to be paid every evening before sunset¹³ (Deut. 24:15). In the Levitical law this rule is continued in full force (Lev. 19:13). And the rule applies whether the laborer is foreign or Hebrew. He was to have a share with the stranger, slaves, and master, in the sabbath

⁶ Cf. also I Kings 2:39.

⁸ Ex. 20:10.

⁷ Deut. 12:12, 18; 16:11, 14.

⁹ I Sam. 9:5-10.

¹⁰ See Gen., chap. 24, where Abraham sends Eliezer for a wife for Isaac.

¹¹ Gen. 12:2, 3; Prov. 22:21.

¹² I Chron. 2:34, 35.

¹³ Judg. 17:10-12. This case is apparently an exception to the rule, the service being in its nature religious, and also that of voluntary vassalage.

produce of the land. He was to have the sabbath rest (Lev. 25:6). No law exists which prescribes the amount of the wage in any given industry.¹⁴ But it is evident from examples given, from the nature of the case where free labor must compete with slave labor, and from the relatively unimportant place which paid labor occupied, that wages did not rise much above the point of barest subsistence for the worker. The fact that wages were required to be paid every day would point to the same conclusion.¹⁵ As an illustration of the unregulated system of wages, note Laban's dealings with Jacob, where Jacob's wages were changed ten times in the twenty years (Gen. 31:41).

That oppression of the hired workers was common is evident from many passages in the Psalms and the prophets.¹⁶ The sojourner, the poor, the hired servants find their advocates in the prophets of Israel. It seems evident, too, that the social and religious position of the free laborer was inferior to that of the servant.¹⁷ In Deut. 15:18 we read: "To the double of the hire of an hireling hath he served thee." Deut. 24:14 speaks of the hireling as "poor and needy." Unlike the servant who is attached to the family, by ownership and by circumcision, the hireling may have no part in the family *sacra*; he may not eat of the passover (Ex. 12:45); nor may the hired servant of the priest eat of the holy food (Lev. 22:10).

From a study of the laws relating to hirelings, from the historical instances which picture conditions surrounding the wage-earner in Old Testament times, and from the expressions in Psalms and in the prophets (see also Job 12:1-12), we can but conclude that the lot of the free workman, from the point of view of the necessities of life, was far less desirable than that of the slave.

¹⁴ Cf. Laws of Hammurabi, in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. V, in which the wages of day's labor in various occupations are stipulated.

¹⁵ There are isolated instances where an annual salary seems to have been paid. See 7 below (Deut. 24:15; Lev. 19:13; Job 7:2). There are also references to craftsmen, who probably worked by the job or piece, but no hint is given as to how they were paid (II Chron. 24:12; 25:6; Ex. 2:9).

¹⁶ Mal. 3:5; Jer. 22:13; Isa. 10:2; Ez. 22:29.

¹⁷ Bennett, article "Wages," Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, says: "In the earlier period of Israelite history, when almost every family had its own land, it would be the exceptionally poor, ne'er-do-well, who was on bad terms with his kin, or the foreigner, that hired himself into service."

4. *The poor in Hebrew life.*—Some of the passages are: Lev. 25:35-37; Ex. 22:25-27; Deut. 15:7, 8; 24:10-13. In the earliest legislation the poor are favored: "If thou lend money to any of my people with thee that is poor, thou shalt not be to him as a creditor; neither shall ye lay upon him interest. If thou at all take thy neighbor's garment to pledge, thou shalt restore it unto him before the sun goeth down: for this is his only covering; it is his garment for his skin: wherein shall he sleep? When he crieth unto me that will I hear; for I am gracious" (Ex. 22:25, 26). Interest shall not be charged them for loans,¹⁸ and their pledge must be returned before nightfall. The prohibition is absolute in case of a widow's garment; it shall not be taken as a pledge. Neither shall a mill or an upper millstone be taken (Deut. 24:17). The same rule probably applied to all indispensable animals or utensils. In the deuteronomic laws one is not to refuse to lend to a poor brother, but is to do it willingly, and with the giving is the promise of blessing upon the giver (Deut. 15:7-11). Furthermore, the lender is forbidden to enter the poor man's house to fetch out the pledge, but is to stand outside until the pledge is brought to him (Deut. 24:10, 11). The poor man's possessions and personality are thus guarded against the possible insolence of wealth and power. The same instructions are repeated in the Levitical (post-exilian) law, with the further injunction that the poor brother is to be permitted to live with the wealthier as a sojourner and as a stranger (Lev. 25:35-37). He is to be accorded the benefit of the laws of oriental hospitality. He is neither slave, hired workman, nor debtor, but the guest of his more fortunate brother.

Deut. 24:19-21; Lev. 19:9, 10, give the poor the right to glean. A forgotten sheaf, the scattering olives, the gleanings of the grapes are to be left for the sojourner and for the fatherless and for the widow; and the corners of the harvest field, and fallen fruit of the vineyard, are to be left for the poor and for the sojourner (cf. the story of Ruth). More than this, the right of each person to take what was needed

¹⁸ No interest was permitted on any loan by the Hebrew law. This was probably a protest against the exorbitant rates charged in surrounding countries, and was a wise provision owing to the fact that only the poor, who would not borrow to invest, were the borrowers. In later times interest seems to have been regularly charged (see Matt. 25:27).

for food at any time while passing the field or vineyard, was a law that benefited the poor.¹⁹

A share in the produce of the fallow land to be set apart for the poor in the sabbatical year was a measure to alleviate poverty²⁰ (Ex. 23:11; Lev. 25:6). "And six years shalt thou sow thy land, and shalt gather in the increase thereof: but the seventh thou shalt let it rest and lie fallow; that the poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave the beast of the field shall eat. In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard, and with thy oliveyard" (Ex. 23:10, 11). The same provision is repeated in the Levitical passage (Lev. 25:6).

A portion of the tithes every third year was to be enjoyed by the poor also. "At the end of every three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase in the same year and shalt lay it up within thy gates: and the Levite because he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee, and the sojourner and the fatherless and the widow, that are within thy gates shall come, and shall eat and shall be satisfied" (Deut. 14:28, 29). The same injunction is laid upon the Israelite in Deut. 26:12, 13.

The Feast of Weeks and the Feast of Tabernacles were both to be shared in by the "fatherless and the widows" along with the servants and the sojourners (Deut. 16:11, 14; see also Neh. 8:12).

Also, as noted above, the hireling, who perhaps might in almost every case be counted among the poor, is protected by the command that his employer shall every day pay his wages (Lev. 19:13).

While these many provisions are made against suffering from poverty, the administration of justice is, furthermore, not to be affected by consideration for the poor. The post-exilic law reads (Lev. 19:15b): "Thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honor the person of the mighty; but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbor."²¹

A study of the prophets²² makes it no less than certain that one

¹⁹ Deut. 23:24, 25.

²⁰ While this law does not appear in Deuteronomy, a fixed period of seven years is there appointed for poor debtors, forbidding any proceedings being taken against a debtor in that year (Deut. 15:1f.).

²¹ Cf. also Ex. 23:3; Deut. 1:17; 16:19.

²² Am. 8:4-6; Isa. 3:14, 15; 10:2; 32:7; Sodom's sin was her neglect of the poor Ezek. 16:49; 18:12; 22:29; cf. also Job 24:4; Prov. 30:14; Isa. 58:7; Prov. 22:22; 14:21; Am. 2:6; 4:1; 5:12; Jer. 2:34; Isa. 14:30; 25:4; 29:19.

of the great sins of the people against which they preached was the sin of oppressing the poor. May it not also be maintained that the very fact that such abundant and systematic provision was made for the poor, and some of it of such a nature that it might well be called "labor legislation," would seem to indicate that there was the demand for such provisions, created by the heartless disregard for the needy on the part of the well-to-do? The picture in Job (12:1-12), if it is at all accurate, portrays a state of things which demanded rigorous legislation as much as ever England needed the factory laws to meet the changed industrial conditions of the nineteenth century.²³

In the Apocrypha and in the rabbinical literature such prominence is given to almsgiving as to make it evident that there was some cause for the pleading which prophets made for the poor. The very word²⁴ used to denote righteousness in general in the Old Testament comes in the Apocrypha and rabbinical literature to mean almsgiving in particular. As we come across it in the Sermon on the Mount, almsgiving has place alongside the other acknowledged duties of the religious life, viz., prayer and fasting. To quote from Ecclus. 29:12: "Shut up mercy (almsgiving) in thy treasures, it shall deliver thee from all affliction." Tobit 4:11: "Mercy (alms) deliver from death." Again from Rosh hashkanah 3: "Through alms a man partakes of eternal life." How far the statutes of the Old Testament found fulfilment in the Jewish life in the three or

²³ It has been noted by many, and should not be forgotten, that along with the poverty of the Israelite, and even more grievous, was the humiliation of social and religious wrongs. The three words most used to describe the condition of the poor are *ānī* ("afflicted," "bowed down," "poor"), *ebyon* ("needy"), *dal* ("reduced," "poor"). Driver calls attention to the fact that these terms came to denote the godly poor, the suffering righteous, the persons who were the godly servants of Jehovah. "It is evident that in ancient Israel, especially in later times, piety prevailed more among the humbler classes than among the wealthier and ruling classes; indeed, the latter are habitually taken to task for their cruel and unjust treatment of the former. So *ānī* acquired a religious coloring, especially in the Psalms, where the *aniyyim* are substantially identical with those who are elsewhere in the same psalm called the 'godly,' 'the righteous,' 'the faithful,' etc. Pss. 9:12; 10:2, 9, 12; 12:5; 18:27; 22:24; 25:16; 34:6; 35:10; 37:14; 74:19, 21; 109:16; 140:12; 40:17; 70:5." These passages, Driver says, are all post-exilic, except 18:27, and reflect the religious condition of the post-exilic community. It will be noted that the troubles of which the *ānī* complain are not chiefly poverty, but social or religious wrongs.

²⁴ δικαιοσύνη, צְדָקָה

four centuries after Malachi is difficult to know. We are quite certain, however, that much of the Old Testament ideal remained only an ideal when the personal sacrifice of the rich for the poor was involved. We also know that alms for the poor in Palestine were systematically collected in the synagogues of the dispersion for the poor of Palestine, as also for the poor of the synagogue itself.

5. *Summary of Old Testament teaching.*—These results show that—

a) The earliest form of industrial service was provided by the institution of slavery. This was practically the only form while Israel was still in the tribal or patriarchal stage of development. The condition of the slave under primitive conditions was not to be compared with that under civilized society. His place was not usually one of more than ordinary hardship, and he received that protection which in a tribal or feudal state the individual must ever seek from the overlord. In Israel the law sought to mitigate the evils of slavery, especially when the slave was a Hebrew, providing for his liberty when the seventh year came around; providing against cruelty, by forbidding return of fugitive slaves, and prescribing penalties for certain abuses; providing for the religious training and privileges of the slave; guaranteeing liberty in the year of jubilee. More than this, the later law sought practically the abolishment of domestic slavery, by appealing to slave-owners to treat slaves as hired servants, and by restricting the right of owners of slaves.

b) The class of the poor included the hired servant, the fatherless, the widow, and the stranger, and regulations that looked to the welfare of the one class almost always included the other. This condition of the wage-earning class is easily accounted for by the fact that free labor competed with slave labor, and that socially and religiously the hired servant was, as a matter of fact, on a lower plane than the household slave.

c) The consideration for the poor was based on religious and filial motives. Ex. 23:15b, "Lest he cry against thee unto Jehovah, and it be sin unto thee." See also Deut. 15:9b; Ex. 22:23; Lev. 25:39-42; Job 31:13-15.

d) There were provisions in agricultural life for the poor: the sabbatical year in which the poor ate of the fruits of the fallow ground;

the third-year tithes, of which the poor partook along with the Levite and the stranger (Ex. 14:27, 29); the right to glean in field, orchard, and vineyard (Deut. 24:19-21); the right to eat of the standing grain and of the ripe fruits (Deut. 23:24, 25).

e) There were provisions made for the poor in the religious feasts (Deut. 16:11-14), but hired servants were not included in this provision.

f) Provisions in the nature of labor legislation, viz., that the workman should be paid his wages at the close of each day's work (Deut. 24:15). This, in a time when business honor was as yet undeveloped and credit in the modern sense was unheard of, would be a wage-earner's only security against hunger and want.

g) Provisions in the nature of economic legislation. No interest was to be charged. This, in an age when only poor were likely to be borrowers, was distinctly favorable to those belonging to this class. A pledge which the poor should give for payment was not to be retained over night, and certain kinds of pledges, such as those which were essential animals or utensils, were not in any case to be taken as pledges.

h) Provisions which guarded the personal liberty of the poor. The creditor was not permitted to enter the home of the poor to take a pledge, but was to stand without until the article is brought to him.

i) The benefits of the oriental laws of hospitality accrued to the poor (Lev. 25:35-37). According to these the stranger, even the enemy who found himself in the premises of a landlord, was entitled to the courtesy of the invited guest, and to food and shelter while he might choose to remain.

j) Provision for equal justice in the courts for both rich and poor (Lev. 19:15b; Deut. 24:17).

k) The poor always had one resource, that of selling himself or his own into slavery, and thus procuring sustenance at least.

l) There was direct command to give to the poor, especially in the later times, inasmuch as the poor would always be in the land (Deut. 15:11; Prov. 28:27; Dan. 4:27).²⁵

So thorough and systematic was the provision made for the poor

²⁵ The Daniel passage seems to be the foreshadowing of the time when almsgiving should have redemptive or atoning power. See below.

in the Old Testament that there is scarcely a trace of beggary or mendicancy found anywhere.²⁶ In the legislation we find the first beginnings of exemption laws, labor laws, employers'-liability laws, and the pauper tax (in third-year tithes).

B. IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

1. *The employed*.—There are few references to the employed class. Slavery probably occupied the same place in society as in Old Testament times.²⁷ We read in Mark 1:20 that Zebedee had a paid crew. In the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke, chap. 15) hired servants are spoken of. Also the parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard (Matt. 20:1, 2) would indicate that there was a distinct class of day laborers who were paid at the close of each day. Other references are in John 4:36, "He that reapeth receiveth wages, etc.;" and in Jas. 5:4, "Behold the hire of the laborers who mowed your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth out." The office of hireling has, as in the Old Testament, something of the disparaging about it, as witness the words of Jesus (John 10:13): "The hireling fleeth because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep." It has been mentioned also that the apostles always style themselves, not the "hired servants" of Christ, but the slaves, the *douloi*. This might be used, however, as an argument that the hired servant was either more or less highly esteemed than the slave. It would seem that the existence of the *corvée* was implied in Matt. 5:41: "And whoever shall impress thee to go one mile, go with him two." Soldiers were paid a wage, as seen from John Baptist's counsel to those soldiers who asked what they should do: "Be content with your wages" (Luke 3:14b).

As to the treatment of the hired, few data are afforded for any definite statements. If the parable of the Prodigal Son presents a

²⁶ Cf., however, I Sam. 2:36; Ps. 109:10.

²⁷ Jesus does not directly refer to the institution of slavery. He does, however, in teaching and parable, take for granted its existence. See Matt. 24:45-51; Luke 12:35-37; 17:7; 22:27; John 13:16. He commends faithfulness on the part of the servant. So also Paul seems to recognize it as the established order, and urges both servants and masters to conduct themselves as servants of Christ. See I Cor. 7:21-24; I Tim. 6:1, 2; Titus 2:9; Col. 3:22-25; Eph. 6:5-9. See also I Pet. 2:18-20. Paul maintains that in Christ are no such distinctions as servant and master (Gal. 3:26, 28; Col. 3:10, 11).

true picture, then the condition of the paid worker was bearable ("How many of my father's hired servants have bread enough and to spare"), and yet allowance must be made in this for the view-point of the hungry prodigal. Jesus said in sending out his disciples (Luke 10:7): "The workman is worthy of his hire." Jesus makes no new law for wages, hours, conditions of labor or the laborer. Through the estimate of the value of the individual man which he inculcated by his teaching, he planted the seeds of a brotherhood which, we believe, will ripen into a system of perfect justice and equity for labor.

2. *Poverty*.—Poverty in the New Testament has assumed a very different aspect from that seen in the Old. Beggary is frequent. The parable of Lazarus was probably a picture of real life all too common (Luke 16:20, 21). The incident of blind Bartimaeus, and of the blind beggar who was sent to wash in the Pool of Siloam, and of the lame man who asked alms of Peter and John at the Beautiful Gate of the temple, point to a condition in society which, coupled with the Old Testament laws and rabbinical teaching with regard to care of the poor, might easily account for the high esteem in which almsgiving was held by the Jewish people.

The epistles only confirm the impression one gets from reading the gospels as to the prevalence of opportunities for the exercise of charity. The "poor saints" at Jerusalem—whether made poor by the indifference of the early church to the value of material goods, which gave rise to a system that might be called a crude form of communism, or whether their poverty was due to other causes in no way connected with the practices of the new faith—were a care to the apostle Paul throughout his ministry. And from numerous other sources it may be determined that the "submerged tenth" was in evidence everywhere. Let it suffice to quote from Hatch:²⁸

In the age which preceded final decay [of the Roman Empire], the pressure of poverty was severely felt. There was not that kind of distress which is caused by a great famine or a great pestilence; but there was that terrible tension of the fibers of the social organism which many of us can see in our own society.

The beginning of the Christian era was the crisis of the economic history of the western world. There grew and multiplied a new class in Graeco-Roman society—the class of paupers. And out of the

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 34 f.

growth of a new class there developed a new virtue—the virtue of active philanthropy, the tendency to help the poor, . . . the instinct of benevolence was fairly roused.

3. *The teaching of Jesus and the apostles regarding care of the poor.*—Finding the care of the unfortunate and poor elevated into a leading virtue, Jesus did not discourage, but rather sought to purify, the practice of almsgiving, by requiring that it be done without ostentation and even in secret (Matt. 6:2). He did not directly attack the idea of merit which had come to be associated with almsgiving, but rather spoke of a divine recompense for such works when they are done without a view to display before men. The following passages will be found to present positive teaching on the subject: Matt. 5:42; 19:21; Luke 6:30, 38; 14:13; 16:9; also Matt. 25:34-40. The last is the most remarkable passage of all. Here the test of final acceptance with the Father seems to be service rendered to the hungry, thirsty, sick, naked, and imprisoned. In Matt. 5:42 the precept is to give to everyone that asketh, without specifying what is to be given, and, interpreted in the light of Jesus' own conduct, and as we have no record that he ever gave an alms of money to the poor, means just that ideal of giving which modern scientific charity is aiming at, viz., the gift of help toward self-help. The rich young man (Matt. 19:21) was bidden to give his all to the poor. The poor, the maimed, the lame, and the blind, rather than the social equals, are to be feasted by those able to make feasts, and the reward of heaven is again promised, in the resurrection of the just (Luke 14:12-14). Again, Jesus (in Luke 16:9) teaches that the right use of the mammon of unrighteousness is to make friends of the needy by succoring them in their need. For, as taught in Matt. 25:40, the poor are the representatives of Christ, and no better use of wealth can be made than to use it in winning them as friends. It will be remembered, too, that when Zaccheus had declared, "Behold the half of my goods I give to the poor," Jesus was ready with the statement: "Today is salvation come to this house" (Luke 19:8, 9).

But there is plainly another side to Jesus' thought. It will be remembered that in his Nazareth declaration of his call he read from Isa. 61:1, where to preach good tidings to the poor stands out prominently, and along with binding up the broken-hearted, proclaiming

liberty to the captives, etc. Another time, as Jesus watched the rich cast their gifts into the treasury, his approbation was called forth as a widow made her offering: "Of a truth I say unto you, that this poor widow cast in more than they all" (Luke 21:1-4). In the story of the anointing by Mary of Bethany his estimate of the low worth of almsgiving as compared with other manifestations of love is at least hinted at. The disciples saw greater possibilities in the ointment if given to the poor than if used as Mary had used it, and felt that Jesus should have corrected the owner and directed it to that more merit-bringing purpose. But his reply, "The poor ye have always with you and whensoever ye will ye may do them good," strongly implies that other forms of service may sometimes take precedence over almsgiving (Mark 14:3-9). His very warnings against the publicity and abuse of giving charity (Matt. 6:2, 3), and the story of the Good Samaritan, in which the giving of money is the smallest feature of the help rendered, teach unmistakably that the attitude of Jesus toward the prevalent almsgiving of his day was radically different from that of Jewish teachers. Add to this all we know of his daily work of healing and comforting the afflicted poor, with no record that money was ever given by him or his disciples to the needy,²⁹ and these conclusions can be made: (1) Jesus regarded the poor and unfortunate with tenderness and compassion, and a large part of his mission was to minister to them. (2) The giving of alms, when free from selfish motives, is good, is a duty, and is entitled to heavenly reward. (3) In fulfilling the ideal of service, the personal ministration is far more important than mere gifts, and, as expressed in the words of modern charity, means, "not alms, but a friend." (4) Stewardship, as taught by Jesus, or the holding of all possessions as a trust to be used for him, implies the constant and careful use of all powers, whether material or personal, for the benefit of the needy, inasmuch as he has identified himself with these classes (see Matt. 25:21; Luke 12:42).³⁰

In the early church the same zeal which Jesus found among the

²⁹ However, see John 13:29, where "some thought, because Judas had the bag, that Jesus said unto him, Buy what things we have need of for the feast; or that he should give something to the poor." This last clause would hardly have been possible if giving money to the poor was entirely foreign to the habits of the disciples of Jesus.

³⁰ See also Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, pp. 243 ff.

people seemed to prevail. The first election of Christian officers was to secure the equitable distribution of alms.³¹ The gentile church was bound to the mother-church at Jerusalem by the necessity of making offerings for the poor (see Rom. 15:26; I Cor. 16:3; II Cor., chap. 9; Acts 24:7). It is probable that each church had its list of poor (I Tim. 5:9). We know that the first Christian homily that has come down to us speaks thus of almsgiving: "Fasting is better than prayer, almsgiving is better than fasting; blessed is the man who is found perfect therein, for almsgiving lightens the weight of sin" (II Clem. Rom. 16). Hatch says,³² referring to the early Christian church:

Other associations were charitable; but whereas in them charity was an accident, in the Christian associations it was of the essence. They gave to the religious revival that almost always accompanies a period of social strain, the special direction of philanthropy. They brought into the European world that regard for the poor which had been for several centuries the burden of Jewish hymns. They fused the Ebionitism of Palestine with the practical organization of Graeco-Roman civilization.

The apostles were not slack in urging liberal giving, as II Cor., chap. 9, shows. "God loveth a cheerful giver."³³ "It is more blessed to give than to receive."³⁴ James is almost vehement in his denunciation of the spirit of discrimination against the poor (Jas., chap. 2). In his effort to show that faith must be accompanied by works, he says (vss. 15, 16): "If a brother or sister be naked and in lack of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Go in peace, be ye warmed and filled, and yet ye give them not the things needful to the body; what doth it profit?" John in I John 3:17 is even more emphatic on the duty of relieving want: "But whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how doth the love of God abide in him?" Paul in writing to Timothy lays specific relief work upon the individual and upon the church: "If any woman that believeth hath widows, let her relieve

³¹ Acts 6:1-6.

³² *The Early Christian Churches*, p. 36.

³³ II Cor. 9:7.

³⁴ Acts 20:35: "I have showed you all things how that so laboring ye ought to support the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive."

them and let not the church be burdened; that it may relieve them that are widows indeed" (I Tim. 5:16). Paul in telling the Galatians about the Jerusalem council specifies that the one request which the Jerusalem leaders made of him and Barnabas was that in their going to the gentiles they were to remember the poor, and he adds: "Which thing I also was zealous to do."³⁵ Without going further into details in the study of the work of the early church in caring for the poor, this much is clear, that in the extent of almsgiving the Christian church was in no whit behind the Jewish church, while both motive and method were in some degree changed. The early church through its organization made the caring for the poor a large part of its work. The writers of epistles lay emphasis on the necessity for liberal giving to the impoverished, and base their exhortations upon the highest motives. There is no suggestion in the New Testament writings of the early church of merit in connection with the act of giving alms. Only as it is the fruit of, and accompanied by, love does it profit (I Cor. 13:3). "And if I bestow all my goods to feed the poor . . . but have not love, I am nothing."

³⁵ Gal. 2:10.

GENERAL SURVEY OF WORK ON THE OLD TESTAMENT

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The purpose of this paper is to give a general survey of the scholarly work now doing in the various departments of Old Testament study. It does not propose to describe classroom work, though everyone is aware that the great majority of Old Testament scholars are engaged in teaching in colleges, seminaries, or universities. It assumes that the teacher is also an investigator, and that he not only keeps abreast of the times, but himself does something for the advancement of his science. To discover what this "something" is, is our present aim.

Any ancient document is the object of two sorts of inquiry: we may seek simply to understand it as it is in itself, or we may seek to appreciate it in its relations to human progress. Like any other ancient document, the Old Testament may be treated from the two points of view, and for our present purpose we may group the sciences with which we have to do under two heads according as they have one or the other object in view. First of all we must *understand* our document—an undeciphered inscription is of no scientific value. Grammar, lexicography, and text-criticism are the sciences which first concern us. One might be tempted to suppose the centuries of study already given to Hebrew grammar to have advanced us beyond the need of additional work in this department. But Hebrew scholars will readily admit that there is room for a fresh treatise on this subject. On the general theory that science is always advancing and is never complete, this would be true; but in the case of Hebrew there seems to be an especial demand for a new grammar because of the progress made in comparative Semitic study of late years. A rumor has reached me that two American scholars have a Hebrew grammar in preparation, but I have not been able to verify it. Meanwhile separate monographs, like Haupt's discussion of "Semitic Verbs, Derived from Particles," are contributions to the subject, and Blake's treatise on comparative Semitic syntax now in preparation will give light on Hebrew problems.

In the department of lexicography we are congratulating ourselves that the new lexicon of Brown, Briggs, and Driver is complete. For the first time in many years American students are in possession of a lexicon which may be fairly called up to date. The elaborateness of this work will make it a standard work of reference for a long time to come, and it is not likely to have a competitor. A somewhat different scope is indicated by Ember, who is preparing a lexicon which shall include post-biblical as well as biblical Hebrew. The same scholar has in contemplation an English-Hebrew lexicon and a Hebrew lexicon altogether in Hebrew. Valuable contributions to lexicography are made by scholars who give us studies of individual words, like Haupt's discussion of the stem *nahal* and the noun *mohel* (in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*), Moore's study of *yothereth*, and Westphal's on the phrase usually translated "host of heaven." (These two are in the volumes dedicated to Nöldeke on his seventieth birthday.)

A valuable help to the student is a concordance. No Hebrew concordance has been published since the extended, though not always accurate, work of Mandelkern. If, however, we extend our field so as to include the study of the ancient versions along with our study of the Hebrew text, we shall have occasion to admire the concordance to the Greek version which is just completed. The help it is likely to render the scholar is illustrated by Margolis in his analytic study of one of its articles (*AJSL*). We are also to have a concordance to the Syriac version, to be published at Urumia for the use of native theologians, but destined undoubtedly to be of great use to Syriac scholars everywhere. This work is preparing under the supervision of Professor Macdonald.

The way in which one science leads on to another is illustrated by the tendency of Hebrew scholarship to secure aid in its difficulties by consulting the cognate languages. Old Testament scholars are therefore more or less directly concerned in preparing the great *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* now publishing in Paris. They also contribute to the *Ephemeris* of Lidzbarski devoted to Semitic epigraphy, to many publications in the general field of oriental study, and particularly to Assyriology. The inscriptions collected by Baron Max von Oppenheim in his travels in Syria are to be

published in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* ("Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Linguistics") of Delitzsch and Haupt. This publication contains many articles of direct interest to Old Testament scholars and illustrates their activity in many fields of research. As a contribution to comparative Semitic grammar Blake's proposed study of intransitive verb-forms in Aramaic will be looked for with interest.

The settling of the text of an ancient document is a matter of great importance, and the need of doing this has given rise to the science of text-criticism. The elaborate system by which the Jews guarded the text must first be understood, then we must seek to get back to the earlier stages of manuscript transmission. The study of the traditional (Massoretic) text is furthered by such treatises as Geden's *Massoretic Notes in the Hebrew Scriptures* published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the more elaborate study of Butin, *The Ten Negudoth of the Tora*. Budde's essay on the origin of the Tiberian vocalization (in the volumes dedicated to Nöldeke) belongs in the same general category.

An endeavor to give us the Massoretic text in as accurate a form as possible has just been made by Kittel, assisted by a number of scholars. The edition has been criticized because the editor fell below the programme he had marked out for himself—"the soup is not eaten as hot as it is cooked," says the proverb. But the edition, with its selection of readings from various sources given in the margin, is a useful one and will doubtless pave the way for something more advanced. Haupt has recently revised the text of the Book of Esther, and promises studies on the critical problems of Psalm 72 and of Ruth—these from the hands of his pupils and to be published in the *Beiträge*. Torrey contributes to the ultimate settlement of the text of Ezra by his study of the Syriac version (*AJSL*), and T. W. Davies devotes some attention to psalm-criticism (in the volumes dedicated to Nöldeke). J. M. P. Smith has just published a revised text of Obadiah, which we may hope will be followed by others of the Minor Prophets.

A wide field is open to the student in the ancient versions, most important among them being the Greek usually called the Septuagint. Problems of text grammar and lexicography here press for solution.

An important advance for textual criticism is now making in the publication of the new Cambridge edition, of which the first part has just come from the press. It bears the title: "The Old Testament in Greek, according to the text of the Codex Vaticanus, supplemented from other uncial manuscripts with a critical apparatus containing the chief ancient authorities for the text of the Septuagint;" edited by Allen England Brooke and Norman McLean. The 155 quarto pages devoted to the Book of Genesis will give an idea of the size of the work.

As Barnes published not long ago an edition of the Psalter in Syriac with a critical apparatus, we may indulge the hope that this scholar is at work on other portions of the Old Testament in this version.

The group of studies thus far considered includes those which contribute directly to the understanding of the Old Testament as it is in itself. But it is clear that with these we have made only a beginning. To understand a human document we need to get it into its human relations. This means first of all into its relations of time and space. Hence the importance attached to archaeology. Knowledge of the country in which the book took form, and of the manners of the people who first read or heard it, is essential. For the Bible the study of geography has been seen to be important from very early times. Bliss's recent history of Palestine exploration shows how many workers have been in this field, and the end is not yet. In fact, it seems as if the work were just beginning. Bliss himself has been an active explorer, and his successor, Macalister, has recently given us side-lights on the Bible from his excavations at Gezer. The German Palestine Society, like the English Palestine Exploration Fund, publishes a review which contains many contributions to the geography and archaeology of the Holy Land. Sellin's report on the Austrian excavations has recently appeared, and we may expect more light from this source. Petrie's work in the peninsula of Sinai does not seem to have brought to light anything that can be called biblical. The most elaborate study of any part of Syria in recent years is the work entitled *Provincia Arabia*, by Brünnow and Domasewski, the second volume of which is in preparation. The articles now publishing in the *Biblical World* by Paton, on "Jerusalem in

Bible Times," are promised in book form and are a direct contribution to our subject. The same scholar prepares the articles on oriental archaeology which appear from time to time in the *American Journal of Archaeology*. Wilson's *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* discusses a subject of perennial interest, and a similar work has recently appeared in German—both of them helpful to the Old Testament student.

Studies which elucidate particular points of biblical antiquities are always with us. Dibelius publishes an elaborate monograph on the Ark of Yahweh, to which Budde makes reply; Meinhold takes up afresh the subject of Sabbath and Week in the Old Testament; Sellin investigates the Ephod, and Eerdmans discusses the Feast of Unleavened Bread. Oussani's essay on the fourteenth chapter of Genesis (*New York Review*) goes into questions of archaeology as well as into those of contemporary history. A volume on the chronology of the Old Testament by Fotheringham belongs in this connection, and another on the same subject is promised by Beecher. The general subject of biblical archaeology is to be treated in the "International Theological Library" and is intrusted to G. Buchanan Gray.

The subject of contemporary history of the Old Testament has assumed great importance of late years, especially since the Assyriologists have begun to claim everything for themselves or for their department. A volume on this subject is to appear in the "International Theological Library" and is to be written by Francis Brown. This scholar is now engaged in studying the subject with special reference to the controversy aroused by Delitzsch in his "Babel and Bible" addresses. William Hayes Ward is devoting attention to one branch of the same subject, with especial reference to the mythological art of Assyria and Babylon, as it appears in the engraved designs on gems and seals. Johnston is preparing a new ancient history of the East, and has also recently edited a letter of Esarhaddon. The twenty stately volumes of the "Assyriological Library" of Delitzsch and Haupt do not belong in the department of Old Testament study, but they illustrate the activity of a number of Old Testament scholars. Langdon's *Babylonia and Palestine*, however, belongs in our group, and along with it may be mentioned Fullerton's study of Sennacherib's

invasion (*Bibliotheca Sacra*) and Baentsch's discussion of oriental and Israelitic monotheism. The second edition of Jeremias' *Old Testament in the Light of Oriental Antiquity* is now in course of publication, as is the second and much enlarged edition of Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*. Jensen's exhaustive discussion of the Gilgamesh epic is at any rate a monument of the author's industry and ingenuity, though it is to be feared that it will not contribute solid results to Old Testament science.

We have perhaps got a little away from our subject, which is Old Testament science. Returning to it, we must notice the branch called (a little unfortunately) the higher criticism. This is the science which seeks to determine the historic order of the documents by internal evidence. A temperate study of the principles on which the higher criticism is based has recently been made by Gigot in the *New York Review*. A sketch of critical method as applied to the Pentateuch may be expected shortly from the pen of Foote. The actual results of critical analysis are set forth by Kent in the *Student's Old Testament*, the third volume of which is in preparation. The essay of C. H. H. Wright on Daniel and its critics seems to belong here, though in form it is a commentary. Torrey has in preparation a book on Deutero-Isaiah, which it may be hoped will put in a new light many of the problems suggested by that interesting section of the Old Testament. Meyer, the historian, with the collaboration of one of his pupils (Bernhard Luther), has recently made an elaborate study of the pentateuchal document known as the Yahwist (J). This study on Israel and the neighboring tribes not only shows the fascination which these studies have for one who is not a professedly Old Testament scholar, but it foreshadows a considerable reconstruction of the author's historical views in the forthcoming second edition of his history of antiquity. The pentateuchal source called E is the subject of a less elaborate, but still quite extended, study by Procksch. The most important work now appearing in which textual and higher criticism are combined is Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, the Hebrew text printed in colors to show the different documents. Of this work four parts are still to appear, and the editor is actively engaged on them. The parallel work in English is not to be continued at present—a matter of regret to all

Bible students. Here may be mentioned Foote's projected popular presentation of the higher criticism as applied to the Hexateuch.

The activity of Old Testament scholars in the matter of the higher criticism and in all that pertains to the literary history of the Hebrew Bible is indicated by the number of books constantly coming from the press under the title "Introduction to the Old Testament." Such books have appeared during the year 1906 from the pens of Gautier in Lausanne, Gigot and Raven in this country, and McFadyen in Canada. They represent in a certain sense a continuous stream of effort, for the subject is constantly worked over independently by many scholars for their classes, if not for publication. Orr's book on the problem of the Old Testament, though by a non-specialist, may be mentioned here, as it is a serious-minded discussion of the subject. Gunkel's outline of Hebrew literature may also be mentioned. It is contained in Hinneberg's work entitled *The Culture of the Present Day*.

Critical study is analytic; it is followed by historic presentation which is synthetic and constructive. In this department there is just now a dearth of new treatises. The acute notes on Old Testament history publishing by S. A. Cooke in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* give ground for the hope that the author will give us a connected narrative in the near future. The series of historical maps of Syria and Palestine just published by Madsen will be of great use to the historical student, and one wonders why they were not thought of earlier. Particular problems of history are treated in some of the works already registered under the head of the higher criticism, and to them we may add Flier's study on the testimony of Haggai and Zechariah to the restoration of Judah, and Kùchler's dissertation on the relation of the prophet Isaiah to the politics of his time.

The Bible is the book of religion—this remains true whatever may be said about its literary value. The two valuations are not discordant; it is as literature that the religious idea takes form and exerts influence. The right appreciation of literary form is necessary to the correct apprehension of the religious faith which has here embodied itself. Far away from the subject of religion as we may think such discussions as those of Sievers on Hebrew meter,

they yet do bear on it very directly. We cannot know what an author intended unless we can distinguish his poetry from his prose. On the formal side we may register here, therefore, such discussions as those of Stade (on the meter of Psalm 40) and Nowack (on meter and text-criticism) in the volumes dedicated to Nöldeke. On the aesthetic side Wünsche's treatise on the beauty of the Old Testament meets the eye at once. Gardiner's *Bible as English Literature* enforces anew lessons which Moulton has been teaching a good while. From the specialist we shall get Haupt's German translation of the Song of Songs with literary parallels—it is promised for next year (1907). Genung carries out the principles of literary criticism in his *Hebrew Literature of Wisdom in the Light of Today*.

Compact volumes on the religion of Israel have recently appeared from the hands of Addis and of Ottley. More important, and likely to be a standard work, is the late Professor Stade's *Biblical Theology of the Old Testament*, of which only the first volume has been published. J. P. Peters is working on the volume dealing with the religion of Israel in Jastrow's series entitled "Handbooks on the History of Religions." Marti's brief sketch intended as an introduction to his commentary, Wellhausen's outline in Hinneberg's *Culture of The Present Day*, and Löhr's little volume in the Göschen series show the desire of specialists to keep the general public informed. The later phases of Hebrew religion are treated in Bousset's *Religion of Judaism*, the second edition of which has just come to hand; but Moore's Lowell lectures on the same subject have not yet appeared in print. Special points in Hebrew or Jewish religion are discussed in the following: Bewer, Hosea's marriage (*AJSL*); Toy, Jewish and Moslem conceptions of absolute law (dedicated to Nöldeke); Haupt, Purim (an address before the SBLE, but with extended notes, to be published in the *Beiträge*); Foote, the Decalogue in the Old Testament; J. M. P. Smith (in *AJTh*), and Löhr, socialism and individualism in the Old Testament; Kluge, the idea of priesthood in Judaism and early Christianity; Gressmann, the origin of Israelite and Jewish eschatology; Gunkel, Elijah, Yahweh, and Baal.

Commentaries are books which embody the results of study along all the various lines we have been considering. Besides the two German series just completed, we have the "International Critical

Commentary" to testify to the industry of scholars in our department. Volumes now in preparation are: Chronicles, by Curtis; Ecclesiastes, by Barton; Esther, by Paton; Micah and Malachi, by J. M. P. Smith. All these are well under way. Of the other volumes promised I have no direct information, but it is fair to assume that they are receiving attention from the authors to whom they have been assigned. Duhm has just published a commentary on Habakkuk, Hoffmann one on Leviticus, and C. A. Briggs and Grace E. Briggs, the second volume of Psalms. Of the nature of a commentary are the notes on the Old Testament Sunday-school lessons prepared by Beecher for the *Sunday School Times*. Smend's commentary and text of Sirach deserve mention, though strictly speaking the Apocrypha are not within our present field of vision.

No recent book, so far as I know, treats the subject of the Old Testament in its relation to practical theology—I mean such a book as George Adam Smith's *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*.

The necessary imperfection of this survey will appear when it is remembered that many Old Testament scholars dislike to let it be known that they are working in any particular line until they have the work ready for publication. There is, moreover, a large quantity of work going on of which no definite account is likely to reach the inquirer unless he has direct access to the printing establishments. Encyclopaedias are always in course of publication, and all of them call for more or less material from Old Testament scholars. When we consider this mass of material, and think also of the various reviews, journals of learned societies, and other periodicals which give space to Old Testament topics, we shall form some idea of the work being done in this field.

If it be asked which is the department in which the most aggressive work is being done, the question is difficult to answer. Our survey shows an activity pretty well distributed. If we are to make a choice, we may say that just now there is a lull in the strictly critical process, and that comparative studies are assuming greater prominence.

EXPOSITORY STUDIES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

IV. JOSEPH

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JOSEPH SOLD BY HIS BROTHERS: GENESIS 37:5-28¹

LITERARY SOURCES

The romantic career of Joseph offers a fine opportunity to the story teller, and his tale is told, with unusual fulness, in both the prophetic documents—the Jehovist and the Elohist. Both elements have been finely blended into a unity; but occasionally traces of the original composition are very apparent. Nowhere is this more so than in the episode of Joseph's removal to Egypt. According to vss. 19-25a, the brethren propose to kill him; but *Reuben*, to save him, proposes that he be simply cast into a well. This is done. Then—according to vss. 25b-27, a caravan of trading *Ishmaelites* passes, whereupon *Judah*, to save his brother, proposes that he be sold to them; the proposal is agreed to. Then we expect to read that they drew Joseph up out of the well—for he is already in it (vs. 24)—and sold him to the *Ishmaelites*. Instead of that, we read that “there passed by Midianites, merchant-men, and they [i.e., the Midianites] drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit, and sold Joseph to the *Ishmaelites*, and they brought Joseph to Egypt.” Here the passing band of Midianites appears to sell him to a passing band of *Ishmaelites*; and the narrative which has been so clear and graphic, becomes surprising and confusing.

The whole becomes clear, as soon as it is recognized that we have here a duplicate account. Each document asserts that an attempt was made to save Joseph's life; but the one assigns the credit of this to *Reuben*, the other to *Judah*. Again, the confusing and suspicious reference to Midianites and *Ishmaelites* is at once cleared up as soon as it is seen that the one belongs to the one story and the other to the other. Each document asserts that he was ultimately taken to Egypt—by the Midianites according to the one document, by the *Ishmaelites* according to the other (39:1). Verse 28 in its present form reads as if the Midianites sold Joseph to the *Ishmaelites*; in point of fact, it was not they, but the brethren

¹ International Sunday-School Lesson for April 21, 1907.

(vs. 27), who sold him. When in this way the tangle is unraveled, we are left with two stories, agreeing with each other in the main points, and each consistent and coherent with itself. According to the Elohist, Reuben proposes to save Joseph by having him cast into an empty well (vss. 22-25*a*). While the brothers are dining at some distance off, a band of Midianite traders passes, draws him out of the well (vs. 28*a*), and brings him to Egypt (vs. 28*c*). According to the Jehovist, Judah proposes to save him by selling him to a band of Ishmaelites, who happened to be passing: "and they [that is, the brothers] sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites" (vs. 28*b*), who eventually brought him to Egypt (39:1).

EXPOSITION

The story of Joseph is told with unusual brilliance. He begins his career by dreams of future greatness (vss. 5-11). The first dream of the corn sheaves is perhaps intended to be prophetic of the later days of famine in Egypt, when the brothers did indeed bow before Joseph. To us there may seem a flavor of arrogance about the dreams, especially about the second; but that is probably not the idea of the narrative. Even the father rebukes him; but that is only intended to suggest how even he fails to understand the great future in store for his son, in the providence of God. The dreams are to be regarded as divinely inspired and truly prophetic of Joseph's future greatness.

The recital of the dreams naturally won for him the envy of his brothers, who take the first opportunity of wreaking their revenge. We have already seen how both documents agree in asserting that there was a proposal to kill him, but that he was ultimately saved—in the Elohist by the intervention of Reuben, in the Jehovist by that of Judah. The pity of the one brother throws into all the deeper shade the cruelty of the rest. There is a touch of scorn in the word by which they address him in vs. 19, "master of dreams." Reuben proposes to have him thrown into an empty well; the crime would seem to a Hebrew less if no blood was shed; besides, according to the ancient idea, blood could cry to God from the ground (Gen. 4:11). The topographical touches are very lifelike: the caravans, striking across the great trade routes from Gilead to Egypt, would pass that way. Joseph is, in the one version, kidnaped by the Midianites; in the other, sold to the Ishmaelites for a sum equivalent to about \$12; and in both versions is ultimately brought to Egypt.

APPLICATION

The dreams of youth are often significant and sometimes prophetic. Joseph dreamed dreams of greatness which, in later years, were abundantly

fulfilled. The powers, the talent, the genius that lie slumbering in youth, may reveal themselves in earlier years by occasional flashes, which are truly prophetic of the greater days to be; and it is for those who are in charge of the young to give their most affectionate and sympathetic attention to all such manifestations, that the latent faculties may be developed and guided to their proper issue.

Dreams are often followed by disappointment. The story of Joseph is full of splendid dramatic surprises, and this is the first. His face is flushed with the dreams of conscious power; and a few verses farther on he is a prisoner entombed in a well, from which there seems to be no escape. Power often brings upon its possessor the jealousy of others, and that jealousy often does not hesitate to express itself in cruel and unscrupulous ways. So this is the sequel of the dream. As soon as the dreamer starts on his real career, he is confronted by the hard, cruel facts, and is sometimes thrown to the ground by them. The brilliant start may be instantly followed by a crushing disappointment.

But *disappointment is discipline.* The path to real power must always be a thorny one. Strength is developed by struggle, and without these bitter and disillusioning experiences character would be flabby. There is no royal road to anything worth attaining; before Joseph is worthy to occupy a seat beside the throne of Pharaoh and administer the affairs of Egypt, his nature must be braced by battle, he must learn to know life and men, he must be the victim of jealousy and slander, he must be flung into the well, and languish in the prison.

But *God is mindful of his own.* Repeatedly and very powerfully does the story of Joseph suggest that there is a Providence in life, unslumberingly watching over such as he, and bringing them in the end to honor. As Joseph lay a prisoner in the well, his career may well have seemed to be ended. But evil cannot in the long run be triumphant. Joseph's brethren are against him, but God is for him, and he is mightier than they. He sends his gracious providence in the shape of the Midianites (in one version of the story), and Joseph is delivered from his living tomb. Things are not what they seem. The dream must fulfil itself; and even the very experiences which seem most fatal to its fulfilment are absolutely necessary to bring the dreamer to his own. Joseph's greatness was to be achieved in Egypt; and it was the jealousy of his brothers that was the providential means of bringing him there. Midianites or Ishmaelites—that is immaterial; in either case, he was taken to Egypt, the land where his brilliant dream was to be fulfilled. Joseph's own later words to his brethren are the finest

interpretation of his career: "Ye meant evil against me, but God meant it for good."

JOSEPH FAITHFUL IN PRISON: GENESIS 39:20—40:15²

LITERARY SOURCES

Chapter 40 belongs almost entirely to the Elohist; 39:20-23 to the Jehovist (cf. vs. 21, *Jehovah* was with Joseph). Both documents are keenly interested in the career of Joseph, though in chaps. 39 and 40 they have been so skilfully blended that it is a little more difficult than it was in the last passage we considered, to find the separate strands. Careful analysis, however, reveals the fact that, according to the Jehovist, Joseph, after being sold by his brethren to the Ishmaelites, is sold by them in turn to an influential Egyptian, who makes him "overseer over his house" (39:4); he is then falsely accused by his master's wife and thrown into prison, where he is promoted by the keeper to the position of overseer over the other prisoners. According to the Elohist, on the other hand, he was taken by the Midianites to Egypt where he was sold to Potiphar, the chief slaughterer, or royal butcher, who was a state official, and in whose house was the state prison. Joseph himself, however, was not a prisoner; he was appointed by Potiphar to wait on the prisoners as their attendant.

EXPOSITION

Chap. 39:20-23: Here Joseph is a prisoner, the victim of calumny. *But Jehovah was with Joseph.* Alone, yet not alone. Here, as before, when Joseph was a prisoner in the well, his career seemed to be ended; but here again, as before, he is speedily convinced that the divine goodness has not forgotten him, and even in the prison, his early dreams of promotion begin to have some shadow of fulfilment. All that he did, Jehovah made to prosper (vs. 23).

Chap. 40:1-4: In this passage Joseph is not himself a prisoner; but he is a slave, the servant of Potiphar, charged with the duty of waiting on the state prisoners who were lodged in Potiphar's house. Two of these prisoners were the officials whose duty it was to superintend the food and the wine for the court; they are in ward in Potiphar's house, awaiting Pharaoh's decision upon their fate—a decision which was likely enough to be arbitrary. Hence their anxiety, and the eagerness with which they looked for any omen of their fate.

Vss. 5-8: Such an omen was often found in dreams. Dreams were often believed to be divinely inspired; and especially in the Elohist

² International Sunday-School Lesson for April 28, 1907.

document, God is often represented as coming to men in a dream (cf. 20:3). Consequently, when the two prisoners are visited by a dream, they believe that it has a peculiar significance, but, as they cannot themselves read that significance, "behold, they were sad," and the sadness was so unmistakably written on their faces that Joseph saw it the moment he came to them in the morning. The hint contained in the dream they cannot interpret, and they have no one to interpret it for them. Their idea is that the interpretation of dreams is an art, of which only those especially trained can be master. Joseph's view is different: "Do not interpretations belong to God?" He is the great Revealer; the God who gave the dream could also reveal the interpretation thereof, even to those who had no mastery of the art; therefore "tell it to me, I pray you."

Vss. 9-15: Our curiosity is aroused, and the butler begins his description, brief but graphic; note the "behold" (vs. 9). His dream is suggested by his professional life; he saw himself pressing the grapes of the vine into Pharaoh's cup, and putting the cup into Pharaoh's hand. At once Joseph interprets the dream, through the inspiration of the God to whom dreams belong (vs. 8), explaining it as an omen that the office of butler would soon be restored to him again; and Joseph takes occasion to suggest that the butler, when reinstated, should use his influence to deliver him from slavery (according to the Elohist, vs. 15a; from prison according to the Jehovist, vs. 15b).

The dreams of the butler and the baker are very like each other; but Joseph, divinely inspired, recognizes the essential difference despite the superficial resemblance. The narrator skilfully places the butler's dream first; had the baker's dream come first, with its unhappy issue, the butler would probably have dispensed with an interpretation for his dream. In vss. 13 and 19 there is a grim play upon the words "Pharaoh shall lift up thy head;" in the one case, it is to be lifted up to honor, in the other case, lifted off the shoulders.

APPLICATION

Very suggestive are the words: "*Joseph was there in the prison, but Jehovah was with Joseph*" (vss. 20, 21). No prison walls can shut out God; to the man who trusts him the heavenly light streams in through the bars of the windows. The misfortunes of a good man are illuminated by the divine presence. But more; the favor of God showed itself in practical ways, and, prisoner though he was, it was not long till he was promoted. The divine purpose for his life was not baffled by his being thrown into prison; it kept on fulfilling itself within the prison walls. A

man of Joseph's temper, genius, and ability, comes in one way or another to his own; it is impossible altogether to suppress him. Whether in this situation or that, the dream of early days translates itself little by little into reality.

Perhaps the passage indirectly suggests *the duty of cherishing faith in one's early dreams*. The frequent and bitter disillusionments of experience are apt to make a man hard and skeptical, and he may look back upon the visions of other days with the feeling that they have duped him. The dream has brought him only to an Egyptian prison; and if that is all, better never to have dreamt at all. But such is not Joseph's philosophy. Do not dreams and interpretations belong to God, and therefore must they not be firmly trusted, despite the slavery and the prison to which they may seem to lead? Considering the sorrowful issue of Joseph's own dream, he might well have answered the prisoners' tale of their dreams with a cynical laugh. His own dream had been mocked, as it seemed, by his subsequent experience; why then should they trust theirs, and why should he meddle with them at all?

But not so. His faith in the value of dreams is not shaken; he still believes that his own had a meaning, and he believes the same of theirs; and it was his faith in their dream that ultimately led to his deliverance from prison, and to his seat beside the king (41:9, 14 ff.). By interpreting their dreams he became the fulfiller of his own. It is very easy to lose faith in the generous ideals and impulses with which we started our career; but it is life's wisdom to retain them, and in the retaining of them lies not only inward peace, but often also outward prosperity.

JOSEPH THE WISE RULER IN EGYPT: GENESIS 41:38-49³

LITERARY SOURCES

With the exception of the first half of vs. 46, which, with its precise mention of the age of Joseph when he came before Pharaoh, belongs to the priestly document, this whole chapter comes almost, if not entirely, from the Elohist. It may be crossed here and there by the Jehovist, but not materially for exegetical purposes.

Most of the Egyptian proper names in this passage are not found earlier than the ninth or tenth century B. C.—another incidental proof that the prophetic documents which tell the story come from that period, and not from an earlier one.

³ International Sunday-School Lesson for May 5, 1907.

EXPOSITION

An atmosphere of dreams hangs about the story of Joseph, and once more we are introduced to dreams by the episodes of this chapter. Pharaoh has had a dream which he instinctively feels to be significant, but which none of his wise men can interpret. This gives the forgetful and ungrateful butler a chance to speak of Joseph, and the power he had once displayed as an interpreter of dreams. The young foreigner is summoned, and as he stands before Pharaoh we feel that the crisis of his fortunes has come. Trusting as before, not in any skill of his own, but in his God, he interprets the dream as a divine revelation of the famine that will fall in the near future and urges the appointment of an able man to take fitting measures to provide for the years of barrenness.

Who so fitting, says Pharaoh, as Joseph himself? There was something mysterious, he felt, about the wisdom of this man. Anyone who produced an unusually powerful impression, whether of strength or skill, wisdom or foresight, was believed to be inspired by the spirit of God; therefore was it not common prudence to appoint to the high post of administrator this very man himself, who was so obviously inspired? So Pharaoh promptly makes the appointment, putting Joseph over the whole land, second only to himself, and investing him with all the insignia of his high authority.

In vs. 40 the second clause literally means, "and upon thy mouth shall all my people kiss." This, however, can hardly be the meaning; the general sense must be, "all my people shall obey thy word," or "shall order themselves in accordance with thy word." Official documents were stamped with the royal seal; so that Joseph, as keeper of the great seal, would be able to issue commands practically with the authority of the king. The robe of fine linen and the gold chain about his neck are distinctively Egyptian honors. The word *abrech*, rendered "bow the knee," is not, strictly speaking, a Hebrew word, though its sound would suggest to a Hebrew ear the idea of kneeling; and even if the word be ultimately Egyptian, as some suppose, it implies in any case some kind of homage.

Vs. 44: "Without thee no man shall lift up hand or foot in all the land of Egypt." At last, then, Joseph's early dream of lordship has come true. And as he was a foreigner, Pharaoh now gives him an Egyptian name, the meaning of which appears to be "God speaks; he lives," and also an Egyptian wife whose name means "belonging to the goddess Neith"—a woman of one of the most distinguished families in the land; for her father, Potiphera ("he whom Ra, the sun-god, gave"), was priest in the

great temple at On, where the sun was worshiped. The narrator recounts these foreign distinctions of Joseph with evident delight.

Joseph at once began his administration. The first part of Pharaoh's dream is fulfilled in the seven plenteous years that succeed, making it as good as certain that the second part would also be fulfilled with its prophecy of famine. So Joseph organized the superfluous supplies of every city, and had them stored and ready against the barren years to come.

APPLICATION

One not unimportant teaching of this passage seems to be that *genuine worth compels recognition*. It may not always have the satisfaction of external rewards such as came to Joseph in the story; but it is and must be recognized, even where it is not rewarded. It may be recognized silently, sullenly, grudgingly, or with a robe of silk and a necklace of gold; but true worth, like the city set upon a hill, cannot be hidden. Every crisis calls for a man; and when the man appears, if he is able to speak the right word and do a helpful thing, then honest souls are constrained to recognize in him a very gift of God. "Can we find such a one as this, a man in whom the spirit of God is?" The crisis reveals the man. In the home, in the office, in municipal government, in the larger sphere of politics, in the church, problems are ever emerging; and by their power of dealing with these, men are tested. Like the magicians of Egypt, the majority will be dumb, or will hide the real issue with a cloud of words. But some strong, clear-minded, pure-hearted man will rise who looks the problem in the face, and shows how it may be met; and then, whether he wears the signet-ring and sits in the second chariot or not, men must recognize that here is their real master, and it will be their wisdom and their life to give earnest heed to what he says.

Again, the passage suggests *the need and the reward of patience*. Too much stress ought not to be laid on vs. 46, which states that Joseph's age was thirty when he stood before the king, as that verse is from another document than the context; but the whole marvelous tale makes it plain that Joseph reached his place beside the throne only through a long period of persistent trial and hope deferred. The path led through prison and calumny, misunderstanding and disappointment and slavery; but he endured in patience and hope, and reached in the end his royal chain of gold. Too often we are eager to anticipate our triumph, forgetting that there can be no real triumph until we are ready for it. The man who would fit himself to rule must first learn to serve and suffer. It is by our patience that we win our souls, and in no other way. There is no easy

road to the seat beside the king; it is a long and thorny way, every inch of which must be trodden, and the feet may bleed before the journey is over. But with the beautiful dream in the heart, the way may be trodden with patience, quietness, and confidence. In the great words of Habakkuk (2:3):

The vision is yet for the appointed time;
It hasteth towards the end, and it will not deceive.
Though it tarry, wait for it;
For it is sure to come, it will not lag behind.

JOSEPH FORGIVES HIS BROTHERS: GENESIS 45:1-15; 50:15-21⁴

LITERARY SOURCES

The whole of the latter passage and the bulk of the former come from the Elohist document. Traces, however, of the Jehovist are also to be found in 45:1-15, as we can see by noting the duplicates. Twice, for example, Joseph discovers himself to his brethren in the words, "I am Joseph" (vss. 3, 4); twice he commands them to tell his father of the honors that have come to him in Egypt (vss. 9, 13). Again, in vss. 4b, 5b, Joseph speaks of himself as "sold;" this, as we have seen, is the view of the Jehovist (37:27, 28b). The analysis is very difficult to work out in detail, nor is this necessary for our purpose; but there is enough to show that, as we should expect, both documents were keenly interested in the story of Joseph.

EXPOSITION

We have now reached the climax of the Joseph story; and both documents recognize the unique dramatic importance of the moment when the "lord of all Egypt" (vs. 9) astonishes and bewilders his brethren with the words, "I am Joseph." Ethically considered, it is not enough that Joseph come to honor; the brethren must be convicted of guilt and confounded; and both of these moral demands are satisfied in this brilliant and wonderful scene, where the guilty brethren are suddenly brought face to face with their ancient sin, which they imagined had been buried out of sight forever. The scene is exquisitely moving; Joseph wept; and it is touching that his very first question should be about his father, whether he were alive or no. As the story is told in the Jehovist document (44:24-34) Joseph already knew that his father was alive.

At Joseph's words the brethren are struck speechless—a touch all the more effective as in chap. 44 they had had so much to say. At once the

⁴ International Sunday-School Lesson for May 12, 1907.

magnanimous Joseph begins to reassure them: "Be not grieved, nor angry with yourselves." Perhaps he feels that they have been punished enough already; but one motive, at any rate, for his generous treatment of them is that he recognizes very plainly now that the hand of God has been shaping his whole career toward this issue from the day on which he was thrown by his brethren into the well. Had he not been so treated by them, he would, humanly speaking, never have been in Egypt, and had he never been in Egypt, he would not have been in the position that he now is in, to save his family. From the human standpoint, it was the sin of his brethren that brought him to Egypt; but it is no less true that by the grace of God he is where he is. This must have been a very precious thought to the narrator of the story, for he makes his point with extraordinary and unusual emphasis. Three times within four verses (vss. 5-8) he makes Joseph say that it was in reality God who had sent him to Egypt, his object being to make him a savior of starving men. "He hath made me a *father* to Pharaoh" (vs. 8); this may be a figurative expression for a "beneficent adviser and administrator," or it may be the title (*ab*) of the highest official in the Egyptian court.

Vss. 9-11: Joseph is eager to have his father brought to Egypt without delay; Jacob is an old man, and may soon die. According to the Jehovist document, Jacob's family is to dwell by themselves in Goshen, in the north of Egypt; according to the Elohist, they are to be near Joseph and among the Egyptians. This distinction is maintained throughout the Book of Exodus, and is the key to some of the difficulties encountered there. The swarms of flies, for example, which tormented the Egyptians do not affect the Israelites, because they dwell "apart in the land of Goshen" (Ex. 8:22; this is the Jehovist); according to the Elohist, the Israelites can beg jewels of the Egyptians, because they are their neighbors (3:22).

Joseph is at great pains to reassure his brethren (vs. 12), sealing the reassurance with a kiss (vs. 15) and bestowing the first greeting upon Benjamin. "And after that his brethren, now fully reassured, began to talk with him."

The next scene (50:15-21) is another revelation of the magnanimity of Joseph, and of the awful spell that their old sin had cast over the lives of his brothers. The father is dead; and now they suppose that Joseph may possibly consider himself free to punish them. Their guilty conscience still pursues them; so, instead of coming in person to plead for pardon, they cautiously begin by sending a message, in which they skilfully appeal to Joseph's regard for his father's requests, and further to the very important fact that they were all bound together in the worship of a common God.

On hearing the message, Joseph wept, touched, it may be, by their penitence, and deeply vexed perhaps by their complete misunderstanding of his noble and generous nature. His reception of their message encouraged them to come in person, and when they came they prostrated themselves before him (vs. 18), thus fulfilling after many years, the very letter of Joseph's early dreams. The high-hearted Joseph bids them "fear not; for am I in the place of God?" It is not for him to exact retribution; he reaffirms his superb faith in an overruling Providence, and concludes by promising to care for them and their children. So, to use the simple Hebrew words, "he comforted them and spoke home to their hearts."

APPLICATION

1. *The past may be buried, but it is not dead.* This lesson is taught with great eloquence in the later episodes of the story of Joseph. His brethren had done everything that a malicious ingenuity could do to put Joseph out of the way. On one version they had sold him as a slave; on another, they had thrown him into an empty well, and left him to his fate. In either case they felt that they were done with him; and they were able to congratulate themselves on getting rid of the troublesome dreamer. Any remorse which they may have felt would grow less poignant as the years went on; when lo! years after, the old sin rises up and looks them in the face. The words, "I am Joseph," froze their hearts with horror, and they stood before the man of whom they thought they had years ago shaken themselves free, speechless and dismayed. The past was not dead, it was only buried, and it leaped out of its grave with a sudden and awful terror. Yes, the past has an uncanny way of asserting itself at the most awkward moments. At the very moment that we have some great favor to beg, there flashes upon us from the long ago a vision of our inconceivable unworthiness; or at the moment that we have some important word to utter, or some delicate or difficult work to do, circumstances take such a turn that we are compelled to stand forth in our utter nakedness; and overcome with shame and horror, the power to speak and to act goes from us. No mistake in life can be more tragic or even more foolish than to think that we have done with the past. The cleverest cannot escape it, and the swiftest cannot outrun it. They carry it ever with them; it is as the shadow which walks when they walk and runs when they run. And the story of Joseph's brethren suggests—what has been proved a hundred times upon the field of ordinary experience—that not only does the guilty conscience remain with the man who has done a cruel wrong, to torment him, but that the outward events of life often bring him face to

face with the sinful past from which he thought he had traveled fast and far. The person whom you had wronged and forgotten reappears afterward in times and places and ways which the shrewdest could never have foreseen; the ancient sin which you thought was unknown to the world leaps suddenly into the full blaze of day, and the real quality of your life stands exposed to the common gaze. In the confusion of the brethren in the presence of Joseph we see how an evil conscience can rob men of their power to use a great opportunity.

2. The whole story of Joseph is a singularly attractive illustration of the truth that *all things work together for good*. In the end Joseph is crowned with many honors: his early dreams are fulfilled; and, what is of infinitely more importance, he reaches a position in which he can be a savior of men. The obstacles were many; and each, as it emerged, may well have seemed fatal. Jealousy, calumny, persecution, ingratitude, imprisonment—he had been through it all; but through it he had been brought to a wealthy place.

Now it is easy to see the hand of God in the triumphant issue; but far more difficult and important is it to see that hand in the process as well as in the issue; and that is the lesson urged with an almost fierce emphasis by the writer of the story. Three times in chap. 45, and here again in chap. 50, he insists that God was behind it all. "It was not you, but God." "*Ye* meant evil, but *God* meant it for good." The disappointments and the persecution, so far from frustrating, actually furthered the purpose of God; he lifted them all up into his great plan, and made them contributory to it. The brothers who had thrown him into the well, the governor's wife, whose calumny had brought him to prison, were but so many unconscious instruments in the omnipotent hands of God. You meant evil, but it is not your will, but God's that is ultimately done; and not only must that will be triumphant over obstacles, but it will use these very obstacles to get itself done. With this faith in Providence, a man may well keep a high heart and a quiet mind. God touches human life, as he touched Joseph's, not necessarily in miraculous ways, but in that subtle, mysterious control of events, which is clear in the issue, but which, even when not so clear, is none the less certain every step of the way; for through him and to him are all things.

Exploration and Discovery

THE ASSUAN ARAMAIC PAPYRI

Far up the eastern bank of the Nile, near its first cataract, lies a little town whose claim to distinction is destined to be recognized. Here lay the quarries from which the granite of many Egyptian monuments was hewn; and here the British government performed the mighty engineering feat of damming up the waters of the Nile. Once more Assuan attracts attention, but this time as the site of the discovery of a collection of Aramaic manuscripts, outranking in number and age all previously known Aramaic documents. The place itself is one of great antiquity. Its Egyptian name was SWN.¹ By the Greeks it was called Syene. Some scholars find trace of it in Ezek. 29:10; 30:6, and, by a slight emendation, in 30:15,16. It was a twin fortress of Yeb (now Elephantinê), situated opposite Syene on an island in the river, standing out on the southern border, protecting Egypt from the Soudanese tribes.

The papyri, ten in number, seem to have been unearthed by workmen engaged in constructing a short line of railway. In the spring of 1904 they were acquired by Robert Mond, M.A., F.R.S.E., and by Lady William Cecil, the former obtaining papyri C, D, F, H, J, and part of G, which are now in the Cairo Museum, and the latter B, E, K, and the other part of G. A and L, belonging to the Bodleian Library and procured earlier, are of the same class. All are published, with transliterations and translations, by A. E. Cowley in an admirable treatise under the editorship of A. A. Sayce.

They were found in a wooden box, in such perfect condition that even the clay seals fastening the strings round them were intact. They are dated in the years 471 to 411 B. C. In each case the day of the Jewish month is given, followed by the corresponding day of the Egyptian month and the reigning year of the Persian king. It will be noticed that they fall within the reigns of Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and Darius Nothus. If we recall that Nehemiah and Ezra were active in Jerusalem during the latter part of this period, we shall better appreciate the temporal advantages of these colonists over their contemporaries in Jerusalem. The papyri represent the business documents of a family through three generations. Were they buried for safe-keeping in the hour of impending calamity?

¹ Literally "a market"—the trading-post for the Soudan.

Was the Jewish colony, or at least this family, destroyed in it? Was it a Soudanese raid, or did it occur in the revolt of the native princes against the Persian domination about the year 410 B. C., when these documents cease? Some sudden fate befell their owner and preserved them for our day. Thus we find ourselves possessed of a unique class of manuscripts coming from the fifth century B. C., unharmed by the mistakes and alterations of a succession of copyists.

It is with no little interest that we find a Jewish colony in Egypt a century after Jeremiah. According to Jer. 44:1, 15, such a colony was at Pathros in Upper Egypt in the prophet's day. The intolerable conditions at home induced the Jews to go far and wide enjoying the opportunities of trade afforded by other lands. A century has passed and the Jew is still there—a part of the community, at home in the new land, in worship independent of Zion, in business a merchant prince to the humble dwellers in Judah.

Linguistically the documents are of some importance. They show that Aramaic was the official tongue of the western half of the Persian Empire in the fifth century B. C. They bear evidence also of its character at a date preceding Ezra, parts of whose book and the later Book of Daniel are written in this tongue. New words and forms not occurring previously are added to our present lists. The name of "Jehovah" is especially interesting. Most readers are aware that this is a coined word invented by the Jew to obviate the difficulty of using the Divine name, which came to be considered too holy for man to utter. What the original was is doubtful, but since the time of Ewald general acceptance has favored the pronunciation "Yahweh." In these documents it is written יהוה and once יהוה. Cowley thinks this would point to a pronunciation "Yahu." It is written in an exactly similar way in the business documents of the eastern Jews of the same period.² This component in Hebrew names—such as "Malchiah" (Jer. 38:6)—and the shorter form "Yah" assume a suggestive significance in the light of these records.

Paleographically the characters are what tradition says Ezra introduced on his return to Jerusalem. They preserve a wonderful similarity, due to execution by a professional scribe. In sharp contrast to this regular script, the names of the witnesses present all manner of individual variations. The documents afford us access to the period between the use of the long, simple character of the writing on stone, and the final "square design." The words are carefully spaced, and due regard is paid to punctuation.

² Clay, *Business Documents of the Murashu Sons of Nippur*, Vol. X.

The stroke appearing after numbers is probably for this purpose, though it may indicate an extra numeral.

To most the religious evidence of these papyri will be the object of chief research. However, being business documents, their religious interest is secondary. Despite this fact, they reveal a religious condition which is most instructive. The Yah element in the proper names shows that there was as yet no religious superstition concerning the pronouncing of the Divine name. In E⁵ Mibhtahyah swears, not by Yahu, but by Sati, the Egyptian goddess—the local goddess of the cataract. Yahu and Sati seem to be little distinguished. Yahu is the god of the Hebrews, just as Sati is of the Egyptians. We find a witness to a deed of the year 465 B. C., named Hosea, the son of Peti-Khnum (the gift of Khnum), which would bear evidence to some recognition of the Egyptian deities. The altar (which must have presupposed a chapel) of Yahu by the side of the king's road in Elephantinê (B¹¹; J⁶; E¹⁴) is of commanding evidence. These Jews could not have entertained any thought of the exclusive right of Zion to Yahu's altar, such as that of the straggling remnant which came out of Babylonia. If this had been a synagogue after the manner of the eastern institution, it had created no surprise, but an altar of Yahu is remarkable. Yet is this not in accord with Isa. 19:19, and does the founding of the temple of Onias near Leontopolis seem revolutionary in the presence of this event?

The tolerance enjoyed by the Jew is attested by this altar or shrine. He was granted equal privileges in law and commerce. We find Jews in business, possessing houses, property, slaves, engaging in finance and various pursuits. One has attained to the office of Persian official—"handiz³ in the citadel" (E⁴). We discover racial intermarriage. It is evidenced by the names of the father and son frequently pointing to different nationalities. Mibhtahyah, the Jewess, after the death of her husband takes As-Hor, the Egyptian royal builder, as a second husband. The Jews do not seem to have enjoyed full citizenship, though this privilege was accorded the Babylonians, who exercise equal rights with the Persians in the matter of holding office. The status of the Jew is modified by a term which seems to denote "in the following of," and is always followed by some name—likely that of a Persian official. Sayce thinks this may denote assignment to a special quarter of the city over which this official had jurisdiction, and for whose safety and order he was responsible. Though these documents are mostly drawn up in Syene, it would seem that the strictly Jewish colony was confined to Elephantinê—probably

³ Modern Arabic *muhandiz* is "engineer."

on the northwest side of the ancient city just west of the temple of Amenhotep III—for these alone are strictly termed “Arameans,” those of Syene being given the general Semitic cognomen. Here all nationalities of the oriental world are mingled together. In the witnesses to these various documents appear the names of Babylonians, Persians, Arabs, Egyptians, Jews, and those of uncertain nationality. Such freedom and equality are unusual for the East. Woman shares in this liberty. We find her prominent in the business activities. Mibhtahyah, according to one document, conducts a wholesale house for builders’ supplies.

These social advantages were even surpassed by the legal privileges accorded the Jewish population of Syene. In the civil(?) court they have equal status with other races. This “Court of the Ebir” appears to exercise authority in cases demanding an oath of expurgation only. All processes of judicial investigation and decision are *ultra vires*. Such matters were reserved for the “tribunal of Napha,” whose magistrate was the Persian prefect—the governor of the garrison at Syene. There is no trace of Jewish law and possibly little of Egyptian. Following the Egyptian rule, legitimacy through the mother is observed. The sons of the Egyptian As-Hor are not citizens, but dependents. From a change of name which he assumes he may have become a Jewish proselyte, and this may account for the status of his sons. Babylonian law is apparent in this régime. The conquering Persians were wise enough to retain this noblest possession of the conquered empire. Testamentary power concerning property, its conveyance and alienation, penalties incurred by false claim and refusal to recognize legal obligations, all revert to ancient Babylonian law. To the Hammurabi Code—the substructure of present national laws—there is the closest affinity in so far as these documents relate. The rights exercised by woman under these laws call for comment. She could will property as she wished and determine its succession after death. In respect of divorce she held equal rights with the man. How far advanced these are on her status in the Old Testament! Each had the privilege of pronouncing a sentence of divorce, but in either case, to be lawful, it must be so declared in the public “assembly.” The party pronouncing divorce lost the gift brought at marriage by the other party. Papyrus G gives a marriage contract of great detail and interest. Five shekels constitute the *mohar* (Gen. 34:12) given to the father-in-law. The bridegroom’s gift to his bride comprises all kinds of clothing and household articles most highly prized in the East. In the nature of the case the marriage settlement which the bride brought with her (Josh. 15:19) is not stated, but implied in the details for a future contingency.

One of the documents, a deed of gift, is here given in full as translated by Mr. Cowley:

On the 3rd of Chisleu, that is the 10th day of the month Mesore, the 19th year of Artaxerxes the king, said Mahseiah the son of Yedoniah, an Aramaean of Syene, belonging to the quarter of Warizath, to Miphtahyah his daughter, saying: "I have given thee the house which Meshullam the son of Zaccur, the son of Ater, an Aramaean of Syene, gave me for its price, and wrote a deed for me in regard to it, and I have given it to Miphtahyah my daughter in return for the goods which she gave me when I was *hndz* in (the) citadel. I took them in exchange, and did not find money and goods to pay thee. Therefore I have given thee this house in return for those thy goods, equivalent to the sum of 5 kebhes, and I have given thee the original deed which was w(ritten) for me by the said Meshullam respecting it. This house I have given to thee, and have renounced all claim to it; it is thine, and thy children's after thee, and to whom(soever thou desire)st thou mayest give it. I shall have no power, I and my children, and my descendants, and any one else, to institute against thee suit or process on account of this house which I have given thee, and about which I have written the deed for thee. Whoever shall raise against thee suit or process, (whether) I myself or brother or sister, relative or stranger, foreign resident or citizen, he shall pay thee the sum of 10 kebhes, (and the) house is assuredly thine. Moreover, no one else shall be able to produce against thee a deed, whether new or old, except this deed which I have written and given thee. (Who)ever shall pro(duce) against thee a deed, I have not w(ritten it). Moreover, behold these are the boundaries of this house; at the upper end of it is the house of Ye' or the son of (Pe)nuliah, at its lower end the chapel of the god Yahu; east of it the house of Gadol the son of Oshea and the street running between them; west of it is (the land) of Marduk(??) the son of Palto, the priest of the gods (Khnum and Sa)ti: This house I have given to thee, and have renounced all claim to it, it is thine for ever; and to (whom)soever thou shalt wish, give (it). Nathan the son of Ananiah has written this deed at the dictation of Mahseiah, and the witnesses are—Mahseiah has written it for himself—; Mithhasah(?) the son of Mithhasdah(?), and S(at)ibarzanes the son of Athar-ili the silversmith, witness Barbari the son of Dargi the silversmith of the fire-temple(?), (witness . . .) the son of Shemaiah, Zaccur the son of Shallum.

These documents are invaluable to all students of the life of the Hebrews as shedding light upon a section of that life hitherto practically unknown to us. They reflect for us the ordinary, everyday activities and thoughts of the exiled Jews in Egypt. They afford us an insight into their social, commercial, and religious environment, and enable us to see against what tremendous odds the exiled Jew maintained his racial purity and his faith.

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Critical Notes on New Testament Passages

"MEN OF HIS GOOD PLEASURE" (LUKE 2:14)

No one can turn from King James's version of this verse to that of the Revised Version without a sense of loss in the dignity and worthiness of the sentiment. In place of the gospel expression, "Good will toward men," we have tacked on to the phrase, "And on earth peace," the qualification, "Among men in whom he is well pleased." The arguments for the adding of the sigma, and the consequent reduction of the triplet to a doublet, are convincing enough; but if we can get no better meaning for it than the Revisers have found, we may well regret the effectiveness of textual criticism here.

If the words, "In whom he is well pleased," have any meaning here, that meaning must be one of these two: (1) God is actually well pleased with men as they are; or (2) the proclamation of peace on earth is limited in its application to such men as are in their character and conduct well-pleasing to God.

The first of these is clearly impossible in the face of the facts.

The second is equally impossible in the face of the fact that God cared to send any gospel at all.

The *Twentieth Century New Testament* translation, "In whom he delights," is but little better, if any.

Can we find any key to an interpretation that shall give to this last clause a meaning that is worthy of its place and setting?

Let us start with the fact that the verse in its form is "a Hebrew of the Hebrews." We must then look in the Hebrew literature for some usage of words that would give us a phrase whose Greek translation would, in form at least, be like the "men of good pleasure" (*ἀνθρώπους εὐδοκίας*) of this verse.

Such a usage I find in Isaiah's interpretation of his parable of the vineyard in Isa. 5:7: "For the vineyard of Jehovah of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah his pleasant plant" (marg., "Heb. the plant of his delight").

The force of the verse is that what the vineyard was to the man, that was "the men of Judah" to Jehovah. The vineyard that brought forth only wild grapes was no source of delight to the man, *but he had hoped that it might be*. Into it he had put toil and planning and hope, and the purpose

and motive of it all was that he had thought that it would become a source of joy and profit, that through it his hope might find its fulfilment.

So Isaiah would interpret the history of his race to mean that into the men of Judah God had put effort and energy, thought and planning, hope and aspiration, and had looked for the fulfilment of his hope in justice and righteousness.

The failure of the vineyard did not change the fact that the planting of it had for its purpose the man's delight. So the failure of the men of Judah did not alter the fact that all God's loving care that had ever been given to his people had for its purpose God's delight, the fulfilment of his hopes.

Take the light of this to the interpretation of *ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας*, and we have the same thing, only that instead of "the men of Judah" we have the broadening of the divine purpose to all mankind. The coming of the Christ has inaugurated that which shall be for the glory of God in the highest and shall bring peace on earth, and this shall be among men; and *men* are they in whom God has invested all, looking to them for the fulfilment of his hopes, the source of his delight, the accomplishment of his highest will.

The age-long failure of men can never alter the fact that the end toward which all God's creative activity has moved, from the beginning even until now, is the fulfilment of God's good will in and through men.

"Glory to God in the highest,

And on earth peace among men—to whom God looks for his good-pleasure."

M. S. FREEMAN

KENT, O.

TWO SUPPOSED HEBRAISMS IN MARK

The language of Mark, the earliest of the gospels, exhibits a remarkable clarity, simplicity, and vigor. Beyond the other Synoptics, too, the expression is in Mark homogeneous and sustained. A few Latin words do indeed occur, but these are outweighed by the Hebraistic elements which have been detected in the language of this gospel. Upon two such so-called Hebraistic elements some new light may be thrown.

The expression, "The time is fulfilled" (*πεπλήρωται*), with which Jesus introduces his preaching (Mark 1:15), is generally regarded as a Hebraism. There is certainly such an expression in Hebrew, but that does not necessarily imply that there was not such an expression in Greek. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the expression was accepted and familiar in non-Palestinian Greek of the first and second centuries. Clement of Rome in his letter to the Corinthians, written about 95 A. D., employs the phrase

twice in his famous chapter on the phoenix: "When the time was fulfilled" (πληρωθέντος τοῦ χρόνου), 25:2; and, "When the five-hundredth year was fulfilled" (πεντακοσιοστοῦ ἔτους πεπληρωμένου), 25:5. Clement wrote in Rome, far beyond the probable limits of direct Hebraistic influence; and while he undoubtedly knew and used the Septuagint, it is noteworthy that in the passage in which this expression occurs he is presumably farthest from its influence, since he is relating a purely pagan legend.

Clement is thus an early witness for the expression, even if his liability to Septuagint influence reduces the weight of his evidence. No such deduction can be made, however, in the case of our second testimony, which comes from the Fayûm in Egypt, and belongs to the time of Hadrian. In a Fayûm lease of land, written in 131 A. D., and preserved on papyrus, occur the words, "The time of the lease expired" (ὁ χρόνος τῆς μισθώσεως ἐπληρώθη). Nor is there any evidence of Jewish influence in the document. These instances strongly suggest that, whatever may have been the origin of the expression, it was accepted and widely current among Greeks of the first and early second centuries, and cannot therefore be appealed to as part of direct Hebraistic influence in Mark.

The Feeding of the Five Thousand contains two curious expressions which are usually reckoned among the Hebraisms of Mark 6:39, "And he commanded them that all should sit down by companies (συνπόσια συνπόσια) upon the green grass. 40, And they sat down in ranks (πρασιαί πρασαί), by hundreds and by fifties." The classical precedents collected by the grammarians for this usage are all numeral, and serve well enough as parallels for the "two by two" (δύο δύο) of Mark 6:7, but do not quite correspond with these expressions in Mark 6:39, 40. These have a precise parallel, however, in the *Shepherd* of Hermas: "They came by ranks (τάγματα τάγματα) and gave the rods to the shepherd" (Similitudes 8:2:8). The same expression occurs again (Sim. 8:4:2) in the text of Gebhardt, though not in that of Funk. The *Shepherd* is the work of a Roman Christian of the first half of the second century, and shows little trace of literary indebtedness, containing scarcely a quotation that can be identified, even from the Septuagint. The idiom exhibited by Mark and Hermas thus belongs, like the expression previously discussed, to the general Greek speech which in the first and second centuries prevailed in practical uniformity throughout the larger part of of the Roman world.

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PETER OR CEPHAS IN PAULINE USAGE

In the writings of Paul, as we have them, Peter is mentioned ten times, but only in I Corinthians and Galatians. This table gives the passages and shows the variation between the Authorized Version of the Textus Receptus, the Rheims version of the Latin Vulgate, and the Revised Version, following texts based on the best ancient manuscripts.

| | | Lach. Tisch. Tr. Westcott & Hort | Vulgate | Textus Receptus |
|---------|--------|-------------------------------------|---------|-----------------|
| | I Cor. | | | |
| 1..... | 1:12 | Cephas | Cephas | Cephas |
| 2..... | 3:22 | Cephas | Cephas | Cephas |
| 3..... | 9: 5 | Cephas | Cephas | Cephas |
| 4..... | 15: 5 | Cephas | Cephas | Cephas |
| | Gal. | | | |
| 5..... | 1:18 | Cephas | Peter | Peter |
| 6..... | 2: 7 | Peter | Peter | Peter |
| 7..... | 2: 8 | Peter | Peter | Peter |
| 8..... | 2: 9 | Cephas | Cephas | Cephas |
| 9..... | 2:11 | Cephas | Cephas | Peter |
| 10..... | 2:14 | Cephas | Cephas | Peter |

Note that in passages 1, 2, 3, 4, and 8 Cephas occurs without variation. In 6 and 7 Peter occurs without variation. In 5, 9, and 10 there is variation, Cephas being undoubtedly the original reading: in 5 both V. and T. R. have Peter, while in 9 and 10 V. follows the better reading, and T. R. only reads Peter.

The tendency to vary from Cephas to Peter is to be explained, we presume, by the much greater familiarity of the name "Peter," as evidenced by its constant use in the gospels and other early Christian writings; and the variation may be due either to design or to carelessness in copying—probably the latter, as otherwise the variation would have been more uniform.

Having determined the authoritative readings, it appears that it was Paul's habit to think of Peter as Cephas, and the question arises why he should have written Peter instead of Cephas in Gal. 2:7, 8. It is noticed that these two Peter passages are in close conjunction, sandwiched in between Cephas passages, and that the thought here is plainly parenthetical, though fairly pertinent to the line of argument. It does not appear that there is any peculiar appropriateness in the use of the name "Peter" in the connection. Two questions are therefore suggested: Is there, in the places numbered 6 and 7 above, a corruption of the original text; or, is there here an interpolation? Whichever we have, corruption or interpolation, it occurred in a copy early enough to be the lineal ancestor of *every*

text that has come down to us. The tendency to corrupt Cephas into Peter in other places favors the supposition that here also we have corruption of the text, though the other instances would be considerably later in time. On the other hand, the plainly parenthetical nature of the passage considered favors the supposition that it may not be an integral part of the text. Its omission would not cripple the argument; yet it is such an explanatory thought as might occur to any early reader to be desirable.

We conclude that the part of the quotation below inclosed in parentheses is probably a very early interpolation into the text:

They, I say, who were of repute imparted nothing to me: but contrariwise, when they saw that I had been intrusted with the gospel of the uncircumcision (even as Peter with the gospel of the circumcision, for he that wrought for Peter unto the apostleship of the circumcision wrought for me also unto the gentiles); and when they perceived the grace that was given unto me, James and Cephas and John, they who were reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go unto the gentiles, as they unto the circumcision.

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Book Reviews

The Finality of the Christian Religion. By GEORGE BURMAN FOSTER. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906. Pp. 518. \$4 net.

The four chief problems which confront present-day apologetics are the same which Professor Foster has brought forward in his book: (1) the question of authority in religion; (2) the Christian view of the world; (3) the essence of Christianity; (4) Jesus Christ as interpreted in the light of authentic sources. He who convincingly answers or helps others to answer these questions renders invaluable service to perplexed students everywhere.

Corresponding to the four problems just referred to, Professor Foster, after a general introduction, devotes two chapters to the formation and dissolution of authority-religions—the Roman Catholic with its theory of an infallible revelation infallibly interpreted, and the Protestant with its theory of an infallible book without an infallible interpreter. He then shows how the new “supernaturalism” has demolished the supernatural as such, and with this the idea of inspiration and the Scriptures as miraculously given, prophecy as predictive, miracles as divine interruptions of the natural world-order, especially in the virgin-birth and bodily resurrection of Jesus. In two further chapters he first describes the changed view of the world and of life, and then contrasts the naturalistic world-view which denies spirit and internal reality and worth with the religious view which enshrines the eternal values of personality. In chapter vii he unfolds the sure method of ascertaining the essence of Christianity—to discriminate the essential from the contingent, to discover and criticize sources, to acknowledge the depth and mystery of personality, especially that of Jesus, and to interpret Christianity only in the light of present conditions. In the two final chapters he inquires concerning the sources of the life of Jesus and concerning the real person who emerges from this historical and psychological study.

This brief summary utterly fails to convey an impression of the erudition, the massive reasoning, and the frequent brilliancy of presentation that one finds here. As one reads, the names of other great works spontaneously suggest themselves—Sabatier's *Religions of Authority*, etc., Ward's *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, and Harnack's *Essence of Christianity*;

and it is a genuine tribute to this book that it suffers in no respect in comparison with those. The author is thoroughly at home in the historical background of such doctrines as revelation, inspiration, the canon, prophecy as predictive, miracles as discussed from Spinoza to the latest writers on the subject. He is even more familiar with the great types of philosophy—Greek, mediaeval, modern; rationalistic, Kantian, Hegelian, pragmatic; in the phases of naturalism as well as miraculous supernaturalism. History, humanism, evolution, and psychology are at his call. He is a master in theology—Roman Catholic and Protestant, the traditional, the critical, the Ritschlian. On every page are the unmistakable signs of the independent investigator, the responsible thinker, the judgment accustomed to weigh evidence, and a love of truth which is almost more than his love for men.

It is probable that the two parts of the book will make a disproportionate impression on the careful reader. One feels, e. g., that in his profound discussion of religion as related to authority—written as we are told before Sabatier's longer work appeared—he has placed the self-authenticating power of the consciousness of the Christian man upon an impregnable foundation and made unnecessary further discussion of this subject. Likewise in his masterly defense of the religious or teleological as against the naturalistic theory of the world he has securely vindicated the immortal claims of personality and of faith in a divine moral world-order. These two positions, wrought out with convincing thoroughness, are Professor Foster's chief contribution to the present apologetic problem. Alongside of this may stand his determination of the essence of Christianity.

On the other hand, it is likely that less recognition will be accorded to his two final chapters—on the sources of the life of Jesus and his interpretation of this person. By this is not meant that his work here is less thorough or that he is less sure of his conclusions than elsewhere. He has, as he says (footnote, p. 333), derived the substance of the first of these two chapters from Professor Wernle's book, *Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu*, and he has thus placed English readers under great obligation for making available this independent and most competent German scholar's net results which he regards as authoritative and typical. But even so, one feels that here he follows rather than leads, as he himself declares. It may perhaps be questioned whether the synoptic problem is as near solution as Professor Foster appears to believe. In a singularly strong and searching inquiry devoted to an apologetic interpretation of Jesus, it is shown that, although he lived in a world of angels and demons, of miracles and messianism, and although his moral precepts are not universally valid

yet in his attitude to the conditions which belonged to his time he was himself free and spiritual, and thus discerned the eternal divine values in these. "And Jesus was what he taught, and taught what he was." "And God is like Jesus." Accordingly Jesus is not accounted for by the historical conditions of his time, but he himself was "new and has power to make men new likewise." We wait for the second (constructive) volume to get his further interpretation of the person of Jesus.

It should be added that the plan adopted by Professor Foster necessitated so much and so radical destructive criticism as almost to overshadow the large amount of positive material contained in his book. The acute antagonism aroused on its appearance a few months ago has largely subsided, but the questions raised in it are precisely those which every serious thinker is compelled to face, and to find some sort of answer for. He may not accept all the solutions offered here, but at least he can form no judgment which is worthy of the respect of intelligent men unless he has weighed these in relation to his other beliefs.

C. A. BECKWITH

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The Life Story of Henry Clay Trumbull. BY PHILIP E. HOWARD. Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Co., 1905. Pp. 525. \$1.75.

This is more than a biography; it is more nearly an incarnation—a veritable book of life. Mr. Howard re-lives his chief's career, and the reader does not so much read as look and listen, absorbed and charmed. Such a book defies review; one can but advise others to read the book and catch the inspiration of a life exceptionally full of inspiration and instruction. Henry Clay Trumbull was pre-eminently the gentleman and friend, the Sir Philip Sydney of his generation. The principle that the man of highest value in society must lay down his life for his fellows was regnant in his conception of the Christian religion. Early in life he chose the Sunday school as the department of organized religion in which to serve best his fellows; and so free from obscurity was the path before him that he could not be persuaded to turn from it even by the urgency of men whom he esteemed most highly for wisdom, pre-eminent among whom was Horace Bushnell. This same certainty of divine guidance and ideal runs through Mr. Trumbull's entire career, not least through the apparent digressions. The chapters which describe the discovery of Kadesh Barnea and the resultant literature, as due to a disastrous breakdown in health, are fine illustrations of this leading of God.

Mr. Trumbull had a passion for friendship. He seemed to say in every one of the lives of thousands of friends: "I have no more important business than to do for you what I can do; just let me try." Of all his books, his classic volume, *Friendship the Master Passion*, will probably touch men most deeply and widely. Of his little book, *Individual Work for Individuals*, Mr. Trumbull said a few days before his translation: "I have never written anything more important."

By many Mr. Trumbull will be remembered longest for his connection with the *Sunday School Times*, the account of which receives of course its full share of notice; but Mr. Howard's greatest service has been in his incomparable portrayal of Christian manhood as everywhere illustrated in Henry Clay Trumbull, "the man himself."

EDWARD BRAISLIN

BURLINGTON, N. J.

New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

PRICE, I. M. *The Ancestry of Our English Bible: An Account of the Bible Versions, Texts and Manuscripts.* Philadelphia: Sunday School Times Co., 1907. Pp. xxiv+330. \$1.50.

A carefully prepared handbook on the origin and history of the English Bible. The narrative traces the various editions of the biblical texts from their original Hebrew or Greek forms down to their latest appearance. The numerous splendid illustrations, forty-five in number, greatly aid in the understanding of the narrative.

EWING, W. *Arab and Druze at Home: A Record of Travel and Intercourse with the Peoples East of the Jordan.* London: Jack, 1907. Pp. xii+180. \$1.

The author writes on the basis of five years of residence in Palestine, and thus furnishes a narrative of observations and experiences which is both interesting and reliable. The book is profusely illustrated.

GUTHE, H. *Jesaia. [Religionsgeschichte. liche Volksbücher, II. Reihe, 10. Heft.]* Tübingen: Mohr, 1907. Pp. 70. M. 0.50.

A sketch of the activity and message of the great prophet Isaiah from the historico-critical point of view, and presented with reference to the needs of the intelligent layman.

CLAY, A. T. *Light on the Old Testament from Babel.* Philadelphia: Sunday School Times Co., 1907. Pp. xvi+437. \$2.

A résumé of the material in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions which bears upon the interpretation and understanding of the Hebrew Scriptures. There is much material included on Babylonian life and civilization not to be found in other works of this kind. This is a valuable addition from a conservative standpoint to the abundant literature on this subject.

ARTICLES

GORDON, A. R. *Job. Expositor*, February, 1907, pp. 185-92.

An introductory study on the Book of Job, setting forth clearly and strongly some of the reasons for supposing the prologue and epilogue to have constituted the original Book of Job.

WALLIS, LOUIS. *Sociological Significance of the Bible. American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1907, pp. 532-52.

An interesting presentation of the fact that the Bible was not "imposed upon the social process according to the old theology," but was "a part of that process." The author's contention is essentially right, but his position is weakened by his overemphasis upon the significance of the struggle between the urban and rural communities.

ST. CLAIR, G. *Israel in Camp: A Study. Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1907, pp. 185-217.

An ingenious attempt to demonstrate that the patriarchs of Israel were not real characters, but only personifications of the signs of the Zodiac; and that the whole story of their lives is but a symbolic representation of the history of changes in the ancient calendar of the seasons.

BÖNHOF, DR. *Die Wanderung Israels in der Wüste mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Frage, "Wo lag der Sinai?" Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, January, 1907, pp. 159-217.

A detailed discussion of the site of Sinai, resulting in the conclusion that it was "southeast of the Hieropolitain Gulf, southwest of Qadesh, northwest of the wilderness of Paran, and west of Seir."

SCHÄPFERS, J. *I Sam. 1-15 literarkritisch untersucht. Biblische Zeitschrift*, January, 1907, pp. 1-21.

The first instalment of an article on the composition of the first fifteen chapters of First Samuel. Chaps. 1-7 are treated here. The spirit and method of the writer are scientific, and his analysis of the narrative merits careful consideration.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

CONYBEARE, F. C. The Armenian Version of Revelation, and Cyril of Alexandria's Scholia on the Incarnation and Epistle on Easter. London: Text and Translation Society (Williams & Norgate), 1907. Pp. 221+189. 21 s. net.

Conybeare publishes the Armenian text of the Apocalypse, from a Bodleian manuscript, and adds the readings of other codices. There is also an English translation together with extended notes. While some of Conybeare's manuscripts exhibit the recension of Nerses, 1179 A. D., others reveal a variety of more ancient texts in which the Apocalypse was known to the Armenians from the fourth century down to the twelfth, when it finally found a place in the Armenian canon of Scripture.

HARNACK, ADOLF. Sprüche und Reden Jesu: Die zweite Quelle des Matthäus und Lukas. [Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament, II.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907. Pp. iv+220. M. 5.

An attempt to reconstruct, from common material in Matthew and Luke not derived from Mark, the second main source used in conjunction with Mark by Luke and Matthew. This must be reckoned an important contribution to the literature of the synoptic problem, although it perhaps too easily assumes the substantial correctness of the current two-document hypothesis.

LEIPOLDT, JOHANNES. Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons. Erster Teil, Die Entstehung. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907. Pp. viii+288. M. 4.50.

A valuable discussion of the chief materials and problems relating to the origin of the New Testament canon. Students of the New Testament canon will welcome this systematic treatment, the more especially as recent investigations have antiquated the older treatises on the subject.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

CHARLES, R. H. The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch, Edited from Twenty-three MSS, together with the Fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions. [*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, Part XI.] Oxford: Clarendon

NIEBERGALL, FRIEDRICH. Praktische Auslegung des Neuen Testaments. Fünfter Band, I. Allgemeine Einleitung. II. An die Römer. [Lietzmann's Handbuch zum Neuen Testament.] Tübingen: Mohr, 1906. Pp. 48+48. Paper, M. 1. 80.

The general introduction to the new German practical commentary exhibits the thoroughly modern and critical position of its editors upon the matters of authority and Scripture, and their conviction that the new positions may be made more useful to practical religion than has been supposed. The brief commentary on Romans is entirely controlled by the practical motive, the constant effort being to show how the religious value of the epistle may be utilized in preaching and teaching. This phase of the new enterprise seems to promise great usefulness.

STRONG, S., BARTON, W. E., and SOARES, T. G. His Great Apostle: The Life and Letters of Paul. Chicago: Hope Publishing Co., 1906. Pp. 212. Paper, \$0.15, cloth, \$0.25. His Friends: The Story of the Immediate Disciples of Jesus after His Ascension, and Their Letters to the Early Christians. *Ibid.*, 1907. Pp. 144. Paper, \$0.15; cloth, \$0.25.

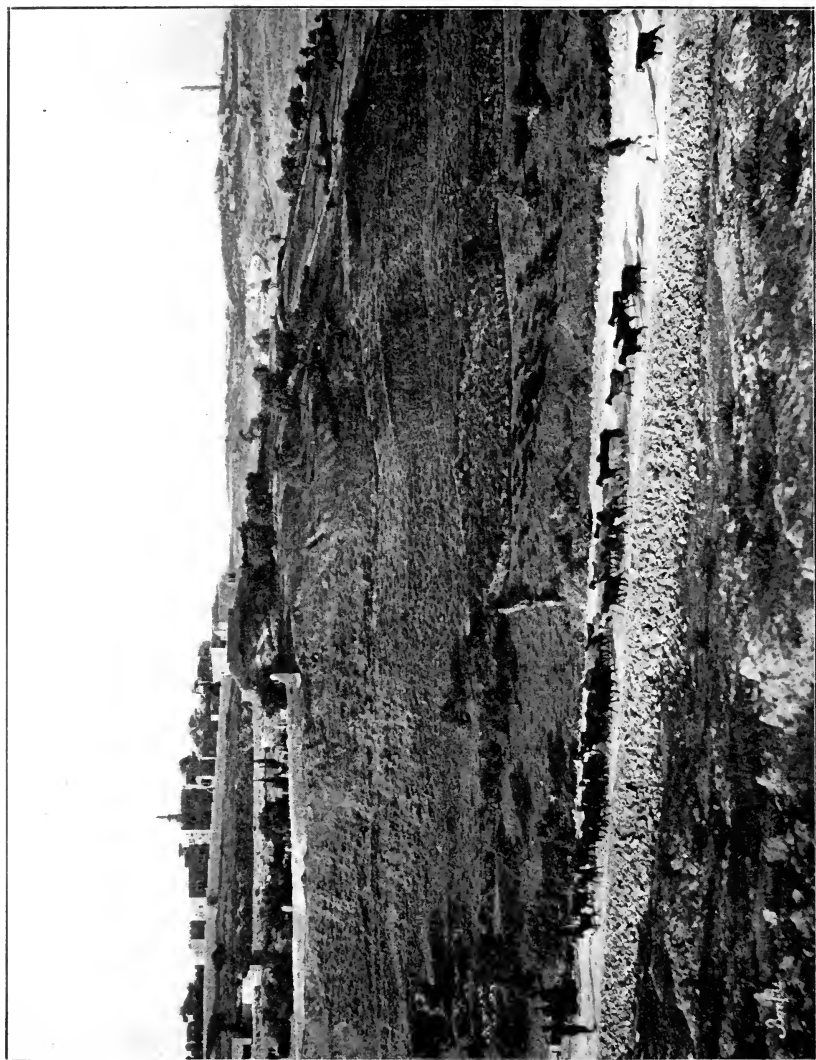
The editors of *His Life* have extended their convenient and helpful little edition to the whole New Testament. The material is arranged in historical order, the letters fitting into the framework of the narrative of Acts.

SWEET, LOUIS M. The Birth and Infancy of Jesus Christ. With an introduction by J. S. Riggs, D.D. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1906. Pp. xiii+365.

A keen and spirited defense of the infancy narratives, unfortunately controlled by a strong dogmatic motive.

Press, 1906. Pp. xxxiii+238. 17 s. 6d.

Professor Charles's long-expected critical text of Enoch constitutes a marked advance upon previous editions of that important work. He holds that parts of the book were originally composed in Hebrew, parts in Aramaic, and that some at least of the original was in poetic form. The text is clearly printed and there is an ample apparatus of variant readings.



EAST HILL OF JERUSALEM—THE TRUE ZION

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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Editorial

ADVICE TO COLLEGE STUDENTS INTENDING TO ENTER THE MINISTRY

These are days when many young men in all our colleges are seriously considering what is to be their life occupation. Not a few of these entered college with the expectation of becoming Christian ministers. To these men we wish to address a few words of friendly advice.

1. Do not give up the ministry because you have been told that great changes are taking place in theology, and that everything is uncertain. Changes *are* taking place in theology, but everything is not uncertain, nor is there any promise of a time when everything will be uncertain in the sphere of religion. Man is ineradicably religious. Religion is not dying out. Christianity is not going to perish from the earth. It is winning greater victories than ever before. With that perpetually renewed youth that has always characterized it, it is casting aside some of its old and outworn garments, and going forth to new and greater conquests. If you love truth, and want to help men by finding and proclaiming truth, there is a career for you in the Christian ministry; and the outlook was never brighter, and the opportunities were never more attractive, than at this hour.

2. Do not give up the ministry because you have been told that the churches are so conservative and hidebound that a man who thinks for himself will find no congregation to preach to, and will, after a brief and inglorious career in the ministry, have to seek some other occupation. Men who tell you this are basing their statement upon very limited observation, or taking counsel of their groundless fears. There are churches that demand men who are "sound in the faith,"

meaning by that men who hold the views that have been generally held in their denomination. And if you are or should prove to be a man of this type, honestly believing what your fathers believed, there is likely to be a church of your type waiting for you. But there is also an increasing number of churches that have been affected by the modern spirit, that are more concerned that their pastor shall be awake to the issues of the day, familiar with the trend of present-day thought, and able to show wherein it is reasonable and consistent with Christianity, wherein it is in error and the church right, than that he shall hold to the creed of the past. If you should prove to be a man of this type, especially if holding what are called modern views, you have a strong, helpful gospel message to the men of your own day, then you will belong to the class of ministers for whom there is today a steadily increasing demand.

3. Do not fail to complete your college course, and do not plan to go into the ministry immediately from college without taking a theological course. You did wisely to go to college instead of undertaking theological study without a college course. If you are a man of ability, you cannot afford not to add to your college course a theological course also. The problems that face the ministry of tomorrow demand men of trained intellects and richly stored minds. What is needed today is not men with no theological training, but men who have had from three to five years of theological study in the best schools. Scores of men who went out into the ministry after three years in the theological school are coming back to the school for a fourth or a fifth year. If you absolutely cannot go to a theological school immediately upon leaving college, go into the ministry and take up theological study in correspondence courses; but save your money to go to a theological school at the earliest moment possible.

4. Do not marry while you are in college, and don't plan to marry between the college and the seminary course. The minister, as a rule, should be a married man. But for the theological student a wife is, as a rule, a luxury that he cannot afford, and the life which the wife of a student in college or professional school lives is too often one of hardship beyond that which any man ought to impose upon his wife.

5. If you are already married, or if you are in honor bound to marry, choose a school where your wife also can have educational advantages. Then take plenty of time—ten years if need be—to complete your seminary course, carrying on some income-earning occupation parallel to your study; and see to it that your wife is not starved physically or intellectually. Let her grow with you, even if you have to grow only half as fast as you might otherwise do. It will pay richly in the end.

6. Do not try to narrow your college course to those subjects which seem to you to lead directly to the theological studies. Extreme specialization in theological studies is extremely unwise. Study English literature, and practice diligently the art of expression in writing and with the voice. Study biological science, that you may know the point of view of that branch of learning which above all others has given character to the intellectual life of today. Study history and the social sciences, that you may know the world in which you are to live and do your work. Study Latin and Greek and French and German, that the literatures of the world may be open to you. But, if you must choose, better leave your Greek to be learned in the Seminary than graduate from college without a knowledge of biological science and contemporary life. It may do for the lawyer to know only law, and for the physician to know only medicine. But the ministry is too broad a specialty to permit him who is entering it to do so prepared only by a narrowly specialized course of study.

7. But, if possible, do some work in college that has direct relation to your future work in the ministry. If you can get first-rate biblical courses in college, avail yourself of them; but leave systematic theology for the seminary. If you can afford it, spend a part of your last two college vacations at a theological school that holds a summer session, or at a good summer school. If it is practicable, do one-third of your work in the last two years of your college course in biblical and theological subjects, and then in the last two years of theology pay your debt to the general-culture courses by doing one-third of your work in non-theological subjects. Such an arrangement will protect you against the danger of loss of interest in those subjects in which, after all, your chief interest lies, and will enable you to get more benefit from your non-theological courses, because of a

perception of their relation to your theological studies. If none of these arrangements is possible, undertake a course of reading in biblical subjects during your college vacations, seeking the guidance of some wise adviser.

8. Do not write to half a dozen seminary presidents to ask them how much they will give you to come to their respective schools. Seminary presidents are only human after all; they might suspect that you were unduly concerned about the loaves and fishes, and be tempted to say harsh things to you. For they know, and you know, that there is no need of mercenary men in the ministry today, and no place for men who want things made easy for them. If you want to go to a seminary, find out what school can give you the best training for the ministry; and when you have decided that question, find out from that school what the necessary expenses are, and then consider whether you are able to meet those expenses. Don't begin your preparation for the ministry by putting it on a money basis.

9. Sit down face to face with yourself and decide what sort of a man you really are. If you are a coward, or a weakling; if you are looking for somebody to carry your burdens for you, or to do your thinking for you; if you are wondering how you can make the world pay you the living it owes you, there is no room for you in the ministry; give it up. But if you love truth, and are willing to dig for it as for hid treasure; if you love your fellow-men, and are willing to suffer that you may serve them; if you believe in God, and are willing to trust your life to him; if, besides all this, you have a well-assured conviction that you will be doing God's will for you if you enter the ministry, then do not let any fear of what the future has in store for religion, or of the hardships that lie along the path of preparation for the ministry or service in it, deter you from fitting yourself as adequately as possible for the splendid opportunities that await a true man in the Christian ministry.

JERUSALEM IN BIBLE TIMES

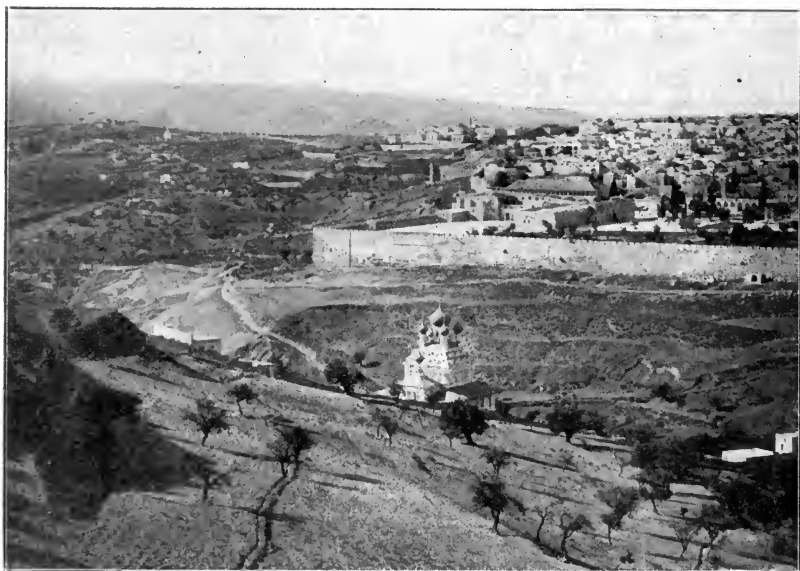
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V. ZION, OPHEL, AND MORIAH

I. *Zion*.—Another hill mentioned in the Old Testament even more frequently than the City of David is Zion. In regard to the location of this hill the views have been as diverse as they have been in regard to the City of David. The tradition both of the Greek and of the Latin church identifies Zion with SW. This is followed by Robinson, Williams, Lewin, and DeVogüé. The first trace of this view is found in the narrative of the Bordeaux Pilgrim dating from the fourth century A. D. The monk Brocardus in 1283 followed this view in his topography of Jerusalem. Aben Ezra, De Lyra, Lightfoot, Hiller, and others have identified Zion with NW. Ferguson and Thrupp identified it with NE. Clarke, Buckingham, and Ritter identified it with the Hill of Evil Counsel southeast of the city. In recent times the view has become general that Zion is the name for the entire eastern ridge. This view was first advocated by Caspari, and has been adopted by Birch, Weikert, Socin, Guthe, Benzinger, Buhl, and G. A. Smith. Even the monks of St. Stephen's in Jerusalem have come to accept the east-hill theory in opposition to the tradition of the Latin church. The arguments in support of the identification of Zion with the eastern hill are as follows:

1. All the early references to the City of David identify it with Zion in such a way as to show that Zion and the City of David must have lain on the same ridge. In II Sam. 5:7 [= I Chron. 11:5] we read: "Nevertheless, David took the stronghold of Zion; the same is the City of David." In I Kings 8:1 [= II Chron. 5:2] we are told that Solomon brought up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the City of David, which is Zion. The City of David, as we have seen, was located on the southern extremity of the eastern hill. If it can be explained by saying that it is Zion, this indicates that Zion was a name for the same hill.

2. The pre-exilic prophets frequently speak of Zion as in a peculiar sense the abode of Yahweh. This shows that it was the hill upon which the Temple stood. Thus, Amos 1:2, "Yahweh shall roar from Zion;" Isa. 2:3, "Many people shall come up to the mountain of Yahweh, to the house of the God of Jacob. . . . for out of Zion shall go forth instruction;" Isa. 4:5, "And the Lord will create over the whole habitation of Mount Zion, and over her assemblies, a cloud and smoke by day;" 8:18, "Yahweh of hosts dwelleth in Mount Zion;"



SOUTHWEST HILL—THE TRADITIONAL ZION

14:32, "Yahweh hath founded Zion;" 18:7, "A present shall be brought unto Yahweh of hosts to the place of the name of Yahweh of hosts, the mount of Zion;" 29:1, 7, 9, "Ariel, the city where David encamped," and where the feasts of Yahweh are celebrated, is called Mount Zion; 31:4, "Yahweh of hosts will come down to fight upon Mount Zion;" 31:9, "whose fire is in Zion;" 33:20, "Zion, the city of our solemnities." Mic. 3:12 puts into parallelism with the statement, "Zion shall be ploughed as a field," "the mountain of the house shall become as the high places of a forest." Mic. 4:7 says: "Yahweh shall reign over them in Mount Zion." Jer. 8:19 inquires: "Is not

Yahweh in Zion? Is not her king in her?" Jer. 31:6, 12 reads: "Let us go up to Zion unto Yahweh our God." "They shall come and sing in the height of Zion." These passages indicate that the Temple, the earthly abode of Yahweh, stood upon Zion. But the Temple was certainly situated upon the eastern hill; consequently Zion also must be sought on this hill.

3. The early prophets mention Zion as the residence of the king and the nobility. We know, however, that Solomon's palace adjoined the Temple and was inclosed within the same wall; consequently Zion must be identified with the eastern hill. Amos 6:1 describes the rulers of Judah as "those that are at ease in Zion," and puts them into parallelism with the rulers of Israel who dwell in Samaria. Isa. 3:16 f. describes the wives of the aristocracy as "daughters of Zion;" 16:1 tells the distressed Moabites to send a tribute of lambs to the ruler of Judah unto the mount of daughter Zion. Isa. 28:16, describing the condition of the renewed nation, says: "Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone." Mic. 4:8 says that the former dominion of the kings of Judah shall again return to Ophel of daughter Zion. In this connection it may be mentioned that Cant. 3:11 represents the daughters of Zion as going forth to meet King Solomon on his return to his palace with his bride.

4. The exilic writings connect Zion with the Temple as frequently as do the pre-exilic writings; thus, Lam. 1:4, "The ways of Zion do mourn, because none come to the solemn assembly; all her gates are desolate, her priests do sigh;" 2:6 f., "Yahweh hath caused solemn assembly and sabbath to be forgotten in Zion; he hath cast off his altar and abhorred his sanctuary;" 4:1, 11, "The stones of the sanctuary are poured out;" "Yahweh has kindled a fire in Zion;" Obad., vs. 17, "In Mount Zion there shall be those that escape, and it shall be holy" (cf. also Isa. 52:7 f.; 60:14; 64:10 f.; Jer. 50:5, 28; 51:10).

5. The post-exilic prophets in like manner speak of Zion as the dwelling-place of Yahweh (cf. Zech. 2:10; 8:2, 3; Joel 2:1, 15; 3:16, 17, 21; Isa. 24:23).

6. In the Psalter Zion is scarcely ever mentioned except in connection with the Temple and its worship. In a number of passages it is put into parallelism with the sanctuary; thus, Ps. 20:2, "Send thee help

from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion;" Ps. 78:68, "Mount Zion which he loved, and he built his sanctuary." As the site of the Temple, Zion is repeatedly described as "the place that Yahweh has chosen," or "has loved" (cf. Pss. 78:68; 87:2, 5). It is also said to be "the place where he dwelleth," or "where he reigns" (cf. Pss. 48:2; 74:2; 76:2; 99:2; 132:13; 146:10; 9:11, 14; 2:6; 87:2). As the dwelling-place of Yahweh, Zion is described as the source of salvation, life, and blessing for Israel (cf. Pss. 9:14; 14:7; 50:2; 53:6; 110:2; 128:5; 133:3; 134:3). Zion is also repeatedly described as the place where the worship of Yahweh goes on, which also implies that it was the mountain on which the Temple stood; thus, Ps. 65:1, "Praise waiteth for thee, O God, in Zion, and unto thee shall the vow be performed;" Ps. 84:7, "Every one of them appeareth before God in Zion." In Ps. 137:1, 3 the songs of the Temple are described as songs of Zion (cf. Ps. 102:21; 147:12; 125:1). Those who follow ecclesiastical tradition in locating Zion on the west hill explain these passages by assuming that the name Zion was originally applied to SW, but was subsequently extended to cover the entire city, and then was limited in the language of religion to the Temple mountain. This theory is so artificial that it has found no favor among critical historians.

7. The writings of the Apocrypha connect Zion with the Temple in precisely the same manner as the earlier literature. In I Macc. 4:37, 38 we read: "And all the army was gathered together and they went up unto Mount Zion. And they saw the sanctuary laid desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest or as on one of the mountains, and the priests' chambers pulled down;" I Macc. 5:54, "And they went up to Mount Zion with gladness and joy, and offered whole burnt offerings;" 7:32, "And there fell on Nicanor's side about five hundred men, and they fled into the City of David; and after these things Nicanor went up to Mount Zion, and there came some of the priests out of the sanctuary." In 14:27 it is narrated that it was decided to set up certain pillars in honor of Simon on Mount Zion. In 14:48 we are told that these were set up in a conspicuous place within the compass of the sanctuary.

The only way in which advocates of the west-Zion theory can

dispose of these statements is to assert that First Maccabees is in error in its identification. Thus, Mommert (Vol. I, p. 179) remarks: "In the second century before Christ in Maccabees Zion appears for a short time as a designation of the sanctuary." As a matter of fact, Zion has never appeared as anything else than a designation of the sanctuary from the earliest times onward. This identification is not peculiar to Maccabees among the books of the Apocrypha, but is found also in Ecclus. 24:10, "In the holy tabernacle I ministered before him; and so was I established in Zion;" I Esdr. 8:81, "He glorified the temple of our Lord, and raised up the desolate Zion."

8. Josephus never uses the name Zion, but in *Ant.* i, 13:2; vii. 4:2; 13:4, he states that David's tent for the ark was pitched on the same mountain on which Solomon's Temple was afterward built. David's tent for the ark, according to II Sam. 6:12, was placed in the City of David on Mount Zion; consequently Josephus also seems to have held that Zion was the Temple hill. We find thus an unbroken tradition identifying Zion with the eastern hill from the earliest times down to about 100 A. D.

The only objection to this view is that in many passages of the Old Testament Zion is put into parallelism with Jerusalem. This, it is claimed, shows that Zion was a name for the whole city, and therefore forbids our basing any conclusions upon its connection with the Temple. This parallelism of Zion and Jerusalem is found in the pre-exilic prophets (cf. Amos 1:2; Mic. 4:2 [= Isa. 2:3]; Isa. 4:3 f.; 10:32; 31:4 f., 9; 33:20; 37:22, 32 [= II Kings 19:21, 31]; Mic. 3:10, 12 [= Jer. 26:18]; 4:8; Zeph. 3:14, 16). It is found more frequently in the exilic and post-exilic literature (cf. Jer. 51:35; Lam. 1:17; 2:10, 13; 4:11 f.; Isa. 40:9; 41:27; 52:1 f.; 62:1; 64:10; Zech. 1:17; 8:3; 9:9; Joel 3:16 f.; Ps. 51:18; 76:2; 102:16, 21; 128:5; 147:12; 135:21; Ecclus. 24:10 f.). In a number of passages Zion and daughter Zion are used as names for the whole of Jerusalem (cf. Isa. 1:27; 10:24; 29:8; 33:5, 14; Mic. 1:13; 4:10 f.; 4:13; Jer. 3:14; 4:6, 31; 6:2, 23; 9:19; 30:17; Lam. 1:6, 17; 2:1, 4, 8, 18; 4:22; 5:11, 18; Isa. 12:6; 49:14; 51:3, 11, 16; 61:3; 62:11; 66:8; Zech. 2:7; Joel 2:23; Isa. 35:10; Ps. 9:14; 87:5; 102:13, 16; 126:1; 129:5).

It should be noted that all these passages in which Zion is put into parallelism with Jerusalem, or in which it is described as if it were

the whole city, are *poetical*. There is not one instance in prose in which Zion is identified with Jerusalem. Zion is parallel to Judah or Israel in a number of passages (cf. Jer. 14:19; Lam. 5:11; Isa. 46:13; Zech. 9:13; Ps. 48:11, 12; 69:35; 78:68; 97:8; 149:2). It would not be safe to infer from these that Zion is literally synonymous with all of Judah or Israel. It is equally unsafe to infer from poetic parallelism that Zion is literally synonymous with Jerusalem. When we consider that in the great majority of passages Zion is connected with the Temple or with something on the eastern hill, and that in not one passage is it connected with the western hill, the easiest way to explain the Old Testament usage is to assume that Zion was originally a name for the eastern hill, but that its association with the Temple made it suitable as a poetic designation of Jerusalem or Judah viewed as a religious community. When, therefore, it is placed in parallelism with Jerusalem or Judah, it does not indicate that it had an actual geographical extension to the western hill. This is a more natural hypothesis than the one which assumes that Zion was originally the name of the western hill, was then extended to the whole city, and was finally limited again to the Temple mount.

II. *Ophel*.—The hill of Ophel is first mentioned in Mic. 4:8, where it is described as "Ophel of daughter Zion." Since Zion has been found to lie on the eastern hill, this implies that Ophel was on the same ridge. Neh. 3:26 states that "the Nethinim dwelt in Ophel unto the place over against the Water Gate toward the east." The Water Gate opened upon the path which led down from the eastern hill to the spring of Gihon; consequently Ophel was situated in the middle of the eastern hill. The same location is assigned to it by the statements of Neh. 3:27 and 11:21. II Chron. 27:3 mentions the wall of Ophel in connection with the upper gate of the house of the Lord. II Chron. 33:14 connects the compassing about of Ophel with the building of an outer wall to the City of David on the west side of Gihon. Josephus, in *Wars*, v, 4:2, says that the eastern wall of the city ran from Siloam to the Temple and joined the eastern cloister at a place called Ophel. *Wars*, v, 6:1, connects Ophel with the Temple and the Valley of Kidron (cf. vi, 6:3). From these passages it is clear that Ophel must have lain on the eastern hill immediately south of the Temple.

III. *Moriah*.—Moriah as a name for the Temple mount is given only in II Chron. 3:1. Gen. 22:2, 14 (editorial) seems to know this name, inasmuch as it explains Moriah as meaning the place where men ought to appear before Yahweh—that is, the Temple. No traces of this name are found in early literature, and it is doubtful whether it was in actual use. In all early writings Zion is the name for the Temple hill. If Moriah is a real name, then we must assume that it applied to one of the smaller peaks of the eastern hill. In that case Zion was the name of the whole eastern ridge, and its three smaller peaks extending from north to south were Moriah, Ophel, and City of David.



THE VALLEY OF KIDRON

SOCIAL DUTIES

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CHAPTER III. SOCIAL DUTIES IN RELATION TO MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF FAMILY LIFE

In the first article¹ we have considered the objects of social life in general, and we have seen that human beings cannot advance in culture without a sufficient supply of food, clothing, and other goods necessary to maintain the body. In this lesson we are to take up these material conditions of the higher life and discover how a community ought to act in relation to these facts.

I. THE MINIMUM STANDARD OF SOCIAL DUTY

There is a very common and traditional belief that the income of a family of a workingman should be measured by what its breadwinner can earn in the competitive labor market. The "law of supply and demand" which actually fixes wages, like the price of wheat or meat, is treated as a part of the moral law, the will of God, or the decision of fate, and any attempt to seek any other basis is regarded as a foolish and futile struggle with dark destiny, or as an impious attempt to circumvent Providence. Stripped of all ornament, this theory means that whatever is, is right. This belief is rarely questioned among those who are successful, and the prosperous are inclined to seek in vice or idleness the only sources of failure to provide support. If a laborer cannot earn income enough to give his family decent means of subsistence, he is despised or pitied for his weakness, or coldly rebuked for his incompetence or wrongdoing. Job on his heap of ashes still finds himself surrounded with "comforters" who have a ready explanation of extreme poverty in sin. If the wages which are actually paid as a result of the competition of employers and employees with each other in the labor market are the proper measure of what ought to be paid, then we have no right

¹ See *Biblical World*, January, 1907, pp. 23-33.

to inquire further for social duty; the "going rate" is the precise measure of social duty.

There is another and very different view which is gaining a hearing in the modern world: that society ought to discover the cost of living a reasonable human life in a certain time and area, and make that cost the minimum standard of income for a faithful and competent workman. According to this view, those who can earn more than this lowest measure would be permitted to do so, and all would be encouraged to become as efficient as possible. Nor may this idea of a legal minimum standard of wages, foreign as it is to our customary thought, be rejected without examination, even if we do not see clearly as yet the particular methods by which the principle can be applied in practice. It may be suggested even now that the traditional doctrine is modified by the practice of poor-relief, since each community admits that it is under moral obligation not to permit the means of living to fall below a defined level. And even in business many employers will admit that they must as far as possible modify the rate of wages somewhat by the cost of living. We shall see later what this implies.

What *elements* must enter into the minimum standard of family support? It is not difficult to answer this part of the question. In every civilized country, in every part of each land, in town and in rural communities, certain things are necessary to the life of moral beings. These things may be roughly classified under the heads: food and drink, shelter, clothing, light and fuel, furniture and furnishings, means of transportation (car-fares), provision for sickness and accidents, dental, surgical, and other care of health, recreation, and incidental but unavoidable expenses. In order that these material means may be continuously supplied even during periods when the bread-winner cannot work and earn, as in sickness, unemployment, and old age, there must be some kind of a savings or insurance fund. Not one of these elements can be left out; and, if any one is omitted, life ceases, or degrading alms must eke out the income. When some of these factors are wanting or inadequately supplied, we discover slow wasting of strength, lowered vitality and industrial efficiency, high rate of mortality among infants, and reduction of expenditures for spiritual culture. The stunted children in

such homes are excluded from school and shop, and turn mendicants or thieves. Ultimately society pays heavily for its denial of a primal duty, and cannot escape its punishment. Nature sends in a bill, and has its own way of collecting interest and principal. In the list just given nothing is included for artistic enjoyments, for education, for religion, for participation in philanthropic and political activities, but only what is absolutely necessary to supply animal wants, give strength for common labor, and keep up the reproduction of labor force by supporting children. Of preparation of good citizens fit to take part in electing representatives in government, and passing judgment on measures influenced by votes, no account is taken; but such elements must be included, if our republican institutions are to continue. Men living on the animal level will inevitably descend to brute conditions, and such persons destroy free governments.

Can we *measure the cost* of these necessary means of family life? This is not an easy task, but harder problems have been solved. We must indicate a way of studying this part of our problem. Let the following facts of the situation be considered: The material means of existence will vary in quantity and cost with the size of family, the price of commodities in the community studied, with the fluctuations of prices in different years and seasons. General averages for the whole country are of little value; we must study the cost of living in each community. With this information before us, we can readily calculate the wages which must be paid in a particular community to maintain existence, working capacity, children, and the higher forces of civilization. Several attempts have been made, with some success, in the cities of this country to discover the actual cost of the items mentioned in the list already given. In this quest charity workers among the poor and visitors of churches have rendered valuable service. But only trained officers of the state, having public authority, can make these investigations thoroughly and at frequent and regular intervals. The first social duty is then to secure the establishment of boards having the legal right and duty to furnish the community with a minimum standard of the cost of living, which standard is found by analysis of the prices of goods in the market and the actual expenditures of many families

that are barely able to support themselves without depending on poor-relief.

Some of the estimates made by careful observers may be cited as illustration of local conditions. Thus Dr. E. T. Devine said:

Recognizing the tentative character of such an estimate, it may be worth while to record the opinion that in New York City, where rentals and provisions are, perhaps, more expensive than in any other large city, for an average family of five persons the minimum income on which it is practicable to remain self-supporting, and to maintain any approach to a decent standard of living, is \$600 a year.²

Later he wrote, in view of further investigations: "Probably the earlier estimates of the cost of living, including that made by the writer, are now too low."³

It must be remembered that, in a rough way, we already accept a standard in practical life for each grade of workmen and in each community. Thus in fixing the wages of unskilled laborers the employers make a rough calculation of what it costs a workman to live, and they feel that they are doing something base if they offer less. Most employers think they should pay something more than the bare cost of living. It is true that girls and women are often paid less than the cost of their living, but in such cases the earnings of the men are supposed to be the main source of income for the family, or charity may supplement wages. In giving charity itself the visitor rapidly makes a guess at the minimum cost of necessities, and seeks to discover the sources of income; then relief is given to make up the deficit. Experienced visitors acquire skill in making these estimates even where deception obscures the facts.

II. SOCIAL METHODS OF MAINTAINING THE MINIMUM STANDARD

All the methods to be mentioned have somewhere been tried, and are not merely inventions or suggestions of the imagination.

1. Society is bringing pressure to bear on negligent men and women to induce or compel them to support their families by steady individual industry and faithful devotion of earnings to proper uses. Thus public opinion chastises the loafer, the shirk, the deserter of

² *Principles of Relief*.

³ *Charities and Commons*, November 17, 1906; Ryan, *A Living Wage*, chap. vii.

wife and children, the vicious, the spendthrift, the drunkard, and the vagabond. If teaching, preaching, ridicule, persuasion, advice, and warning fail to secure economic and domestic virtue, the law inflicts fines and imprisonment, with the object of securing support from the persons responsible. These laws are made more and more exacting.

Fortunately such extreme measures are necessary only for exceptional cases; ordinarily the motives for industry are sufficient to keep most men at work regularly, at least among races which have for generations been trained to regular industry, and where the desire for many kinds of goods urges men to work without ceasing.

2. When parents, with children to maintain and educate, are disabled by sickness, accident, old age, unemployment, or misfortune, and cannot supply the necessities of life to dependent children and the aged, society comes to their aid with private charity or public relief. The poor-law is a recognition by the people of a state of the moral rule that we ought not to permit any citizen, no matter what his previous history, to perish from hunger and cold, and that we ought not to permit any child to grow up without education on account of poverty. Frequently the relief given is unwisely administered, excessive or deficient in amount; but the moral obligation to maintain a certain standard of life for every member of the community is distinctly implied in both public and private relief. This relief must ever remain exceptional; it cannot become a regular means of support without degradation of the working population. In the case of the able-bodied adult relief can be safely given only in return for productive labor; and where dependence is due to sickness the relief must be so administered as to restore the capacity to earn the means of living.

The objection to this method of meeting the minimum standard is that it degrades the recipient, tends to make him indolent and morally feeble, reduces the wages of the industrious, lays an undue burden on tax-payers and generous citizens, and so injures all.

The methods of administering charity in exceptional and necessary cases cannot be discussed here, but must be reserved for another time.

3. Measures relating to the industrial group or the wage-earners.

At this point we may barely mention some of the methods by which workingmen are helped to maintain and raise their standard of living and means of support: bureaus of employment, industrial education and training, co-operation in purchase of commodities and construction of homes, savings schemes to encourage thrift, provident loans, industrial insurance, legal minimum wages, and many others which will be discussed later.

Two of the social movements are so closely related to family welfare that they must be mentioned here—shelter and food.

III. SOCIAL DUTIES IN RELATION TO SUITABLE HABITATIONS

Residence in towns and cities reveals the absolute impossibility of meeting our moral duties by individual action. In the rural communities, on the other hand, where each family lives in a separate dwelling, far removed from other habitations, the condition of the home is chiefly determined by the character and ideals and means of the family, without consideration of the condition of other persons outside the home. But let one of these families take up residence in a city where land is so dear that few can own a separate dwelling, where most of the houses are rented by the month or year, and where many families are crowded closely together under the same roof, where all are compelled to jostle each other in the halls and are totally ignorant of the character of their neighbors, though affected by them in health and morality; add poverty to crowding, and then imagine how little the ordinary workingman can do to prevent evils in physical and moral conditions. Under such circumstances one has the conviction that appeal must be made to some general law which commands the landlord, and which restrains the selfish tenant and guards the purity of childhood. Moral suasion will not secure action from reluctant avarice; only the "big stick" of law enforced by inspectors, that "sword of the magistrate" of which Paul said that it was not borne in vain, will tame the beast of greed, and ignorance.

What does the duty of a city require in relation to the control of sanitary and decent habitations? (1) Since houses must be built every year to replace old ones or to provide for growing population, the government must secure through legal regulations that every

dwelling conform to the necessary conditions of health and propriety; (2) old houses which are unfit for residence must be altered and improved, if possible, to make them conform to the minimum standard of health and decency; (3) the government must condemn and destroy houses which are a menace to health and morality; (4) the administration must provide adequate supervision of present and future tenement houses so that they shall be properly kept. In the minimum standard of a human dwelling experience has taught that the following items must be included: sufficient light and air; space about the dwelling to secure ventilation and sunshine; such construction of walls, partitions, and stairways that the home may not become a death-trap in case of fire; separate water-closets and washing facilities to guard modesty and purity; a certain space for each person; partitions so constructed that the sexes may be separate and boarders be kept apart from the family; cellars and courts clean and open to air and light. Experience and expert study have developed a code of building construction which has been adopted by the leading cities, covering the minute details of all such points.

In the city of Liverpool, it was found that private enterprise was not ready to build houses, and rent them at a rate which poor workmen could afford to pay, and the city bought ground and built decent habitations of a simple but sufficient style, and rented them at cost to laborers who were living in houses unfit for human life. The moral effects of these changes were soon apparent; the number of drunken and riotous men brought before the police courts was reduced; sexual purity was increased and prostitution diminished; rents were more promptly paid; cleanliness was enforced until it became a pleasant habit; mortality of children was reduced; less time was lost from work through vicious indulgence; and in every respect the conduct and character of the people were improved. There were, of course, theorists who shook their heads because all this public solicitude for the welfare of the poor contradicted their theories of government functions, and they called the policy hard names, as "socialism," "paternalism," and the like; but that good came of the scheme no one can deny. In order that persons able to pay higher rent should not take the new houses, it was wisely ordered that only families driven out of the unfit dwellings

could rent the new houses. Other cities have failed at this point, because they neglected this precaution and rented to any bidder.

TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION AND DISCUSSION

1. What laws of your state regulate the building of dwelling-houses? If you live in a city, get a copy of the building ordinances. Are such regulations part of a *moral* code?

2. Learn whose duty it is to enforce these laws, as officers of health, state inspectors, police, fire marshal, etc.

3. Are these laws complete and reasonable, and are they well enforced? If there is neglect, who is to blame, and how can he be officially brought to account?

4. Do you know of any dwellings which are unfit for human habitation? Discuss ways of improving the conditions.

5. Has your community any ideal of duty on the subject of dwellings? What evidence have you for your opinion?

6. Can you trace any good or evil spiritual consequences of the physical surroundings of particular families? Bring these to the attention of the class.

7. How is the whole question of habitations related to social duty and hence to Christianity?

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PRIEST AND PROPHET IN THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES

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The ancient and everlasting controversy between the priest and the prophet was apparently settled forever in the Protestant churches by the conditions of their beginning. Having their origin and main reason for existence in a revolt against the priest, they seemed permanently safe from all peril of priestcraft.

The older Protestant churches, whose separate history dates from the Reformation, met the priest in his sacerdotal vestments and contended with him frankly and bitterly, prophet against priest. They were commonly worsted in the encounter, but they found their revenge and recompense and reward in the success of their revolt and in the establishment of their own independent organizations.

The subsequent separations, divisions, and subdivisions have turned less evidently, but no less actually, upon this point of difference. There have been rebellions of prophets against priests. Both sides have appeared to agree in hating priests; but one side has taken the priestly position, and the other side has protested. Thus there have been Presbyterian priests and Baptist priests and Quaker priests, all of whom would have repudiated with indignation the suggestion that they were akin to priests of Rome, but who have nevertheless been of the priestly temper and have looked upon truth from the priestly point of view. Everybody remembers how William Blackstone, the first settler of Boston, whom Winthrop found in solitary possession of the three hills, retreated into Rhode Island before the invading Puritans, remarking that, having left England to escape "my lords, the bishops," he must now leave Boston to escape "my lords, the brethren." He found no great difference between these two companies of dominant persons, except that, of the two, the brethren were the more objectionable.

That is, in almost every Protestant communion there have been men who have had the theory and the temper of the priest, and have behaved themselves accordingly; and over against them have risen in opposition other men who have had the spirit of the prophet. Almost every schism is a chapter in the controversy between the prophet and the priest. In almost every trial for heresy it is the priest who sits in the seat of the judge and pronounces the sentence of condemnation on the prophet. The sentence may be just and necessary; the prophet may be a false prophet; but the essential distinction is that the priest is the advocate of the institution, the maintainer of the old ways and of uniformity; while the prophet is the advocate of the individual, the orator of change, of progress, and of liberty.

The prophet has never succeeded in his endeavor to eliminate the priest. It is interesting and instructive to follow the controversy in the pages of history, and to perceive how one campaign is like another. There are great differences in the details of the debate, and the fortunes of one side and of the other rise and fall with the issue of a skirmish or a battle; but the general aspect of the contention remains from age to age. Neither side has succeeded in gaining an abiding advantage.

In the Old Testament, for example, where the struggle assumes large proportions, and is perhaps the most obvious fact in the whole history, the prophet has the best of it, at first. He rises up against the priest, in strong indignation, and seems to have the people with him. He is in every case a finer, higher, more able and more righteous man than his opponent. He is the joy and pride of all Protestants. The prophet is essentially a Protestant. That is his principle, his inspiration, and his business. In every subsequent debate his words have been the text of Protestant sermons: "Incense is an abomination unto me: the new moon and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble to me; I am weary to bear them." This is the characteristic denunciation of the prophet, in all times and in all places. "Wash you, make you clean: put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well."

This is the characteristic proclamation in all lands, of the message of the prophet.

The men who brought this message are almost the only men whose names are familiar to us, outside of the catalogue of kings, in the history of the Jewish people. It is true that Jehoida, the priest, leads the court conspiracy against Queen Athaliah, and that Joshua, the priest, is exalted and blessed in the prophecy of Zechariah; but for the most part the priests are a crowd of servile persons, formalists, obscurantists, and worse; over against whom, pointing to them with the finger of scorn, stands the prophet.

In the New Testament, especially in the gospels, the Pharisees are joined with the priests. The two parties were as antagonistic as the Protestant and the papal sections of our present Christianity; and the lines of cleavage followed very much the same distinction. The priests were the men of the church, the Pharisees were the men of the meeting-houses; the priests emphasized the sacrificial, the Pharisees the practical, elements of religious service; and so on. But they were united in their opposition to our Lord, as he was in opposition to them both. In their essential spirit they were all priests together, the Pharisee with the Sadducee; for they all stood on the basis of precedent, of conservatism, and of authority; in one way or another, they all exalted the institution.

Christ was a prophet, and sent his apostles to be prophets. When the ruler of the synagogue rebuked him for healing on the sabbath, the eternal difference between priest and prophet stood out plain. The ruler was intent on the interests of the institution; Christ cared immediately for the interests of the individual. When he said, "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath," he stated the perpetual antithesis between the two kinds of men; each of them honest, each of them religious, each of them desiring to serve God, but temperamentally different one from the other. Christ gave the priest the respect which was due to his position; he was no more a partisan Protestant than he was a partisan socialist. Nevertheless, he was a Protestant. The departure of the Christians out of the established church—divinely established—and their organization of themselves into a dissenting, Protestant company, was the direct, logical, and inevitable result of the teachings of Jesus. Paul was the

Luther of the movement, but he had the mind of Christ. It may profitably be remembered that from the point of view of the Jewish church to this day all Catholics are Protestants, and the pope himself is but a dissenting minister.

The whole Christian church, then, began as a Protestant body, in the spirit of Him who taught the central principle of Protestantism, that the individual is of more value than the institution. The apostles, and the leaders and teachers who followed them, were prophets; that is, they were men who spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. In place of the ancient phrase, "It is written"—the formula of priests—they said, with a confidence which amazes us to this day: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." They had no use for priests. It is true that very early a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith: but they all repented before they joined the Christian church: that was a part of their obedience. The Christian church started Protestant, and was persecuted in consequence by all the priests.

But the mind of the new movement changed. If the writing of the New Testament had continued for several centuries, as was the case with the Old, we should have had a curious and significant parallel. Suppose it had extended far enough to take in St. Cyprian. We should then have had the record of a gradual change such as took place among the Jews. The prophets before the exile, with their denunciation of forms and formalism, with their abuse of priests, were so far forgotten or disregarded that after the exile the priests came quietly back and assumed again their old places of power. Indeed, they were more powerful than ever. The prophets were dumb. John the Baptist broke a silence which had lasted for centuries. And so it was with Christendom. The church which began without a priest—save Him who is the great high-priest—which began in protest against priestliness, both sacerdotal and pedagogical, presently beheld itself under obedience to a whole hierarchy, ruled by priests and glad to have it so. Says the author of *The Creed of Christ*:

By the time the church had been fully organized, the whole diameter of thought separated Christianity from the mind of Christ. Everything that Christ valued most, with the exception of such sentiments and rules of life as devotion to his person had forced upon the conscience of Christendom, had either been ignored

or proscribed. Everything that Christ hated most had been accepted, systematized, and authoritatively taught. . . . The externalism, the ceremonialism, the literalism, the materialism, the false asceticism, the exclusiveness, the uncharitableness of the Jews had entered into the life-blood of Christianity.

These chapters of history are, of course, sufficiently familiar to all reflective persons who have a habit of reading. I have recalled them because they are the background against which all present discussion of priests and prophets stands. They interpret, if we know how to get their meaning, the present situation. They teach us, at least, that the priest and the prophet are permanent persons in religion. And thereby they warn us against the error into which both the priest and the prophet have persistently fallen: the error of imagining each for himself that he is the friend and the other is the foe of the truth and of the church. Each has tried to put the other out. Each has denounced the other as disloyal and deceitful and desperately wicked. Each has burned the other at the stake. But, as I said, neither has succeeded in his endeavor at elimination. Though for the moment the priest silences the prophet, the line of prophets continues. Though for the moment the prophet unseats the priest, the succession of priests perseveres. The meaning is that, though each in turn may be wrong, and dangerously wrong, each is nevertheless substantially right. Each stands for an abiding element in religion. Each ministers to his own side of a human nature, which is of divine ordering and is unchanged with the changing centuries. The two religious forces are different, as the centripetal and the centrifugal forces in nature are different; they are opposed one to the other. But they are equally essential.

For example, in politics there is an ancient and unending contention as to the proper residence of power. Shall it be in one hand, centralized; or shall it be in many hands, distributed? One is the theory of monarchy, the other is the theory of democracy. One at its worst leads to tyranny, the other at its worst leads to anarchy. But, as the world goes, every monarchy tends toward democracy, and every republic toward monarchy. We perceive today, within the circle of contemporary observation, how in Russia, the most monarchical of civilized states, the tendency sets toward the distribution of power; while in the United States, the most democratic of nations,

power is becoming more and more centralized. But the centralization of power is an emphasis on the institution, and that is the characteristic position of the priest, who has always allied himself with princes; while the distribution of power is an emphasis on the individual, and that is the distinctive position of the prophet, who has always been on the side of the people. The healthy state, whose public opinion is in accord with conscience, whose political condition is sound and progressive, and which is at once sufficiently conservative and sufficiently progressive, is that in which the two tendencies have each fair play, and are pretty evenly balanced, and act each as a salutary check upon the other. That is the benefit of a party of the administration and a party of the opposition. That is the advantage of a Republican party, holding to the supremacy of the Union, fronted by a Democratic party, maintaining the sovereignty of each individual state. They are both necessary to our welfare.

The point is that we cannot get along without the priest. There is no need to argue the everlasting value of the prophet. All who read this paper are agreed as to that. There is no need to dwell further on the bad side of the priest. That also may be taken for granted. Neither am I disposed to urge the prophet to approve of the priest to such an extent of brotherly appreciation and confidence that he will give over his ancient task of observing him with suspicion. It is the distinctive and unalterable business of the prophet to watch the priest. The priest will magnify his office if he can. That is his nature. That is the evidence of all history. He must be kept in check. Before we know it he will have us shut up behind the bars of ecclesiastical and theological convention, our hands tied with rubrics and our feet with canons. He has a passion for uniformity, and will serve us, if he can, as the giant served those whom he bound upon his iron bed: if their legs were too long, he cut off their feet; if they were too short, he stretched them out; he made them fit the bed.

But uniformity is not so bad, if it does not go too far. Indeed, within limits, it is necessary to all orderly living. There must be customs to which people shall give deference, and some of the more serious customs must be enforced by laws to which people shall give obedience. And to these ends there must be lawyers and police-

men, there must be magistrates and books of statutes. And this is true in religion. The priest—he may or may not wear a chasuble; the clothes do not make him, the ordination does not make him—the priest is the man who is interested in the steady maintenance of ecclesiastical order. Constitutions and by-laws, the selection of officers and their duties, the continuance of a regular succession, the settlement of questions of precedence, the securing of obedience, the prevention or punishment of schism—all these things are of vital concern to him. This side of life is dreary enough to the mystic, and irksome to the enthusiast, and displeasing to the prophet; but it is as desirable as bread, water, air to breathe, and earth to tread upon. It is a part of the discipline of religion, without which religion lapses into eccentricity.

When the prophets and their disciples made their great protest and came out of the ancient institution into an independent life, and thereby turned their backs on the priests and all which the priests most cared for, they went naturally into a reactive departure from the old law and order. That was to be expected. It showed itself at Münster, in ways which are not pleasant to remember, and the revelation injured the progress of the reforming movement. Sober men, perceiving what may happen when the prophets are free from restraints of the priests, drew back from such a condition of license. Münster was the prophets' paradise, and it proved to be a pandemonium. That was happily checked, and Protestantism was saved from being a religion of misrule. But the new independence had the defects of its qualities. Beginning as a schism, it was unable to maintain consistently that schism is a sin. Started as a protest against oppressive and misdirected authority, it found difficulty in maintaining even a reasonable and necessary authority. Whoever disagreed with his neighbors said easily, "I will start a new church for myself," and was able to plead the Protestant worthies as examples. Thus Protestantism is fissiparous. The catalogue of sects is amazing, partly by reason of the length of the list of names, partly by reason of the insignificance of many of the grounds of difference.

The Protestant churches are therefore in need of the services of priests; that is, of men who have the sacerdotal sense of order, and the instinct of centralization, and a high esteem of the value of the

institution. Such men, accordingly, are appearing at this moment. They are urging, and sometimes effecting, the union or reunion of separated churches. They are introducing into the congregational order a saving element of episcopacy. The president of the Unitarian Association is substantially an archbishop, and goes about on visitations confirming the churches, like a working prelate. Dr. Bradford and Dr. Gladden have rendered a like service to the Congregationalists, issuing pastoral letters, like a House of Bishops. These are significant tokens of a change of mind. They mean that individualism feels the need of institutionalism. The prophet summons the priest. And the priest, so far as he can, brings into the ecclesiastical confusion the same sort of order that is brought into business by the general manager. He looks after the general interests. He attends to the rubrics and to the canons. He restrains eccentricity, puts enthusiasm in harness, gets the brethren to work together soberly and with self-restraint for great ends. The need of the Protestant churches for this kind of control is plain enough. Protestantism as an ecclesiastical system—or lack of system—is out of accord with the dominant tendencies of modern life, and lies in a foolish eddy by the shore while the main current sweeps on toward the sea. The modern man, in his commercial and political and social relations, is bent on economy and effectiveness of effort by elimination of needless and wasteful competition. He is getting together with his neighbors, merging his individual interests in the welfare of the institution; and both the individual and the institution are prospering in consequence. The modern man is intent on large things. The Protestant churches have been content with small things. They have frittered away their energies in a duplication and multiplication of parishes and churches which has kept them poor, discouraged many young men of the first class from entering their ministry, and weakened their whole work. That is what the priest says; and the prophet contemplating the Seven Churches of Lonelyville assents, with penitence.

The priest represents, not only the instinct of order, but the instinct of worship. He cares much for the beauty and dignity of the public service of the church; delights in noble buildings, with aspiring steeples and stained windows, and the work of the artist in wood and

metal; and in the stately sanctuaries which he builds he would have praise and prayer befitting the place, as both place and prayer befit his conception of the glory and the majesty of God. To him a church which is beneath the level of the standards of the best people of the parish is an unworthy house of God. A church whose adornments suggest the parlor of a boarding-house or the furnishing of a Pullman car recalls to the priest a text from Genesis, wickedly perverted: "How dreadful is this place!" And a service which is in harmony with such a structure, with operatic singing of anthems taken from the prayer-book at random, and with extemporaneous prayers in which the personality of the preacher obtrudes itself indecently upon the mind of the worshiper, is offensive both to the priest and to everybody who has any appreciativeness of the side of life for which he stands. Many of the Protestant churches have no idea how cold, barren, impoverished, and depressing their services are to persons who are accustomed to a liturgy. They are intolerable.

This is due, of course, in large part to an inheritance of tradition. When the Protestant churches began, they turned their backs, not only on the priests, but on everything which could remind them that priests existed. That was natural enough. But it was a temporary situation. Human nature has always demanded that which a rich and noble service supplies. It will never be satisfied with the sermon only. In most of the Protestant churches, until within a few years, the acts of worship have been "preliminary exercises," preparatory to the sermon. People have been expected to go to church to hear sermons. The prophet has had his own way, and prophesying—for this is the old word for preaching—has been made the one reason for church attendance. The consequence is that in the non-liturgical churches attendance has decreased deplorably. The prophet has had a monopoly of the situation and he has shown that he is unable to maintain the interest or the loyalty of the congregation. The honest truth is that, if his sermon is the only reason for church-going, it is not worth going for. We have got a better one at home, in a book.

The Protestant churches need the aid of priests, to help them to minister to the inevitable instinct of worship. When one sees sur-

pliced choirs in Universalist churches, and is invited to join with Unitarians in daily services, and looks into the Presbyterian *Book of Common Worship*, he perceives that the priest has appeared upon the scene. He has come none too soon. Before the Reformation the people were not admonished and instructed enough, and they were hungry for sermons. Since the Reformation there have been too many sermons, and the soul of the people is weary to hear them. What we want now is a chance to say our prayers and sing our praises, and to worship and adore Him who has promised his special presence in the midst of us. We want to go to church thinking of God, not of the preacher. This privilege the priest makes possible.

The most influential of all the Old Testament prophets was Ezekiel. Some of the others were much better preachers, but he was at the same time a prophet and a priest. He saw both sides; the need of the old and the need of the new, the time to destroy and the time to upbuild, the place of sacrifice and the place of mercy, in human society. And he enacted lasting institutions. Moses made the Jews a nation; Ezekiel, when the nation was shattered, made them a church. He carried them over across the tremendous crisis. The Protestant churches are ready now for the spirit of Ezekiel, and have a welcome for men who to the enthusiasm of the prophet add the discipline of the priest. We need priests, for order, for worship—but the priests need to be watched.

"THE GREAT COMMISSION": DOES IT MERIT THE NAME?

(MATT. 28:18-20; MARK 16:15; LUKE 24:46-48; ACTS 1:8)

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All three Synoptists agree that the final theme of our Lord's instruction to his disciples was the world's evangelization. Neither master, disciple, nor evangelist, however, is responsible for the title by which that final charge has commonly been known. The title is the spontaneous characterization of later ages. How far is it deserved? In what respects do the context and content of this charge point it out as truly a "Great Commission"?

I. Great in position.

This last command has the advantage of a most emphatic position. It is no less than the last word of Christ to his friends. Last words may have supreme significance. They may be reserved for the end that nothing spoken later may blur the impression. A sacredness attaches to a final wish, a dying blessing, such as no word preceding it could ever win.

But this is not only Christ's final *word*, it is Christ's final *deed*. The commission is the necessary logical outcome and application of all that had gone before since Christ first called the Twelve to follow him. It contains the practical meaning of all the preaching and instruction, and not of that alone: of all the planning and praying also, of all the faithfulness and fearlessness and sorrow and sacrifice. Galilee and Samaria and Perea and Judea are incomplete without this. Olivet and Gethsemane and Calvary and the tomb of Joseph of Arimathaea are incomplete without this. Whatever Christ has said or done or suffered from the beginning, if it have any outlet into the future at all, must find that outlet through this charge which sends the disciples out fitted to be channels of living water to the world.

Yet this is not all. To grasp the position of this final command of Jesus we must obviously go back of Jesus, and include in our view the entire revelation of God up to his day. What is Jesus with reference to the revelations preceding him? The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews answers: "God, who at sundry times and in diverse manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." Jesus, then, is the climax of all past revelation from the beginning. And here in the commission is the climax of the revelation of Jesus. We may not then stop short of saying that the command "Go ye!" is the crystallization of God's whole redemptive purpose from the beginning of the world, the august gateway through which the hoarded wealth of God's disclosures passes on its way into the future.

II. Great in conception.

Consider the vastness of the idea. It is vast as the world, as history, as all human life. "Go ye into all the world": there go the space-limits. "Make disciples of all nations": there go the race-limits. "Preach the gospel to the whole creation," that is, to every man, woman, and child who shall be created: there go the time-limits. Surely a charge before which all human boundaries thus fall flat is great in outline and idea.

Yet this is no vast, vague, and empty notion such as our own broad notions are apt to be; it is shot all through with the warmth and vitality which characterized the life of Christ. Men believe after a fashion today in a gospel for all men, in universal brotherhood. They believe in the modern, scientific doctrine of an original birth of all men from one pair, who may as well have been Adam and Eve as any others. All men are by nature brothers, and ought to be such in point of fact. Yet that is little more than the preparation for the conception of universal brotherhood which Christ entertained. Brotherhood to Christ was *acting* the brother. Christ could weep over his conception of universal brotherhood. Men are not always able to weep over theirs.

Yet, if brotherhood was not merely intellectual with Christ, neither was it purely sentimental; and the last commission was not mere emotion, but an enterprise for which Jesus felt himself to be *personally adequate*. To Jesus the commission was practicable. He was

“able to save unto the uttermost all that came unto God by him.” He had not been born in vain. He had not been crucified in vain. He had not gone down into the tomb in vain. “It is finished!” he had cried; and henceforth he was the propitiation, not alone for Peter’s sins and for John’s sins and for James’s sins and for Nathanael’s sins, but for the sins of the whole world. “I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me.” The last commission is an appeal to lift him up under all skies and before all eyes, that he may exercise his drawing power over all men.

But another and final feature must be added if the full greatness of this conception is to appear. I refer to the deep undertone of responsibility which, though unexpressed, seems to vibrate through it. Ability, with Jesus, meant responsibility. “The Son of man must needs suffer.” He could die; therefore he must die. Now, after the “must” of the passion came the “must” of the commission; for, having died once to die no more, could he fail to think of that day so closely connected with the issues of his death—the day, namely, when men should be judged according to the death he had died and the gospel he had given? Jesus had repeatedly pictured to the disciples that day—the heavens aflame, the Son appearing on the clouds with all his hosts, and the awful summons to the earth to appear before the throne. Could this have been absent from his thought? The solemn greatness of the last commission will not appear till one sees in the deep background of it the flashings of that day which shall ere long burst like a thief upon the astonished world, and bring to a long end the crime and shame and stain of sin.

III. Great in promise.

The promise, “I am with you,” is obviously not to be dissociated from the command to which it is attached. “Go, and I will be with you.” “If you go, I will be with you”, it might have been written. Christ has thus attached to the missionary enterprise the altogether most remarkable promise of his personal presence.

There is a sense, of course, in which Christ is with all men, whether they go or not, whether they believe or not, whether they do righteously or sinfully. But in the comforting and stimulating sense intended it is not thus general. The directing and sustaining grace of Jesus, the boundless revelations of Jesus’ love, the cheering look of Jesus

and his uplifting smile—these are not treasures for the deaf and disobedient. Christ is not with those who are against him.

The promise is the power of the fulfilment. I see those men of old, scattered by persecution from Jerusalem through Judea, Samaria, to the uttermost parts of the earth, preaching the word. "Alas," they say, "for our weakness." The answer comes: "I am with you." "Ah, Lord, but the nations are many and the world is wide, and the resistance of men to thy rule is very bitter and very strong."—"I am with you!" "Ah, but our strength falters and our heart fails, and tender are the ties that must be rent, and many are the dangers of the sea, the darkness, and the desert-sands."—"I am with you!" "Ah, but kings are cruel, and love not thy law. Their swords are sharp, and there burns the fire to eat up our flesh."—"I am with you!" And so, comforted and assured, those early ones look heavenward, and whisper: "Yea, Lord, it is enough!"

IV. Great in authority.

"Go!" This word consists of only two letters, but it contains the power of two worlds.

We may not say, perhaps, that there is more of heaven's authority behind this command than behind any other; yet this command makes prominent the fact of authority as does no other. From this command the disciples could not but draw the inference that Jesus believed in his own right to command *anything*.

And is not this the meaning of the prefatory words: "All authority is given unto me in heaven and on earth"? "All power," the Authorized Version put it; "all authority," the Revised Version more truly says. The "power" is not absent, but it lurks in the background, while the "right" is brought forward and emphasized. "I have the right of God to command: go, therefore!"

And certainly this was fully understood by the disciples themselves. They had not been for three years under Christ's authority in vain. The school of Christ was the school of obedience. To be sure, authority on his part and obedience on theirs did not exhaust the relationship:—"I have called you friends, for all things that I heard from my Father I have made known unto you." And yet, just as the iron framework is concealed behind the graceful lines of the building, just as the eternal rock underlies the budding and blos-

soming ground, so behind their whole relationship to this heaven-sent Jesus lay the great and undisputed fact of the authority of God.

It was this twofold assumption of right on his side and of obedience on theirs that enabled Jesus to put forth such a command as this without qualifications or conditions. These men were committed to his will. Why, then, need he stop to remind them not to give heed to material allurements? Had they not already forsaken all and followed him? Why need he pause to remind them that his claims upon them transcended the claims of family or friends? Had he not said to them at the start: "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me"? Why need he at this late date warn them to think twice before undertaking a work which would certainly jeopardize their lives? Had he not checked them at the beginning with the parable of the king going out to meet twenty thousand with only ten thousand, showing that the start was the time to sit down and count the cost? And had he not enunciated that principle, so hard to realize, yet basal in his teaching, that "whosoever will save his life shall lose it, but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall find it"? All these things had been settled long before. There was no occasion for raising them now.

This, then, these men fully accepted and understood, that they were committed to the authority of Christ. Whatever the word "believe" meant before, "go" meant now. Whatever the word "follow" meant before, "go" meant now. The command to go was the résumé and test of all their obedience from the start till now; indeed, it was in the going that all the believing and the following were to take effect. They could not believe without going. They could not follow without going. They could not be anything real to their master, nor could he on his part be anything real to them, unless now this supreme command was obeyed within the bosom of which all other commands were involved. They perceived it at a glance; and because they were radically loyal, they went.

AUTHORITY FOR THE SACRAMENTS

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Protestant Christianity has two chief sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper; and the authority for them has commonly been thought to be two definite commands of Jesus: "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Matt. 28:19); and, "This do in remembrance of me" (Luke 22:19; I Cor. 11:24f.). But some of the most careful Christian historians now tell us that we cannot be sure that these passages preserve genuine words of Jesus, but are put into his mouth by his well-meaning followers. If so, there is left no positive injunction of the Master to perpetuate either ordinance.

Moreover, there is a feeling among most Protestants that the observance of neither ordinance is absolutely essential to Christian living. There are no insuperable objections, on purely theoretical grounds, to assuming that a person who has never been baptized may enjoy the divine forgiveness, and may be living in spiritual communion with Christ though he has never sat at the Lord's table. Justification by faith and salvation through grace, unmediated by any ceremony, is a vital tenet of modern theology.

In practice, however, there is a strong conviction that participation in the sacraments is desirable. While intelligent Christians attach no magical power to the act of baptism, most of them would hesitate to receive into church-fellowship one who rejects the ordinance; and a church member who regularly absents himself from the Lord's table soon becomes the subject of his fellow-Christians' anxious interest. It is not at all likely that the church will abandon these rites either out of deference to the critic or because of any failing emphasis upon their theoretical value; nevertheless, if it cannot be maintained that they are perpetuated in accordance with a definite

command of Jesus, must not faith in their positive character, or even in their permanent worth, be seriously shaken?

And then there is the question of personal honesty for the clergy. The writer once heard criticism passed upon a theological professor who administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, seemingly very much under the unction of the Spirit, when it was well known that he did not believe in the originality of the words, "This do in remembrance of me," although he cited them in his ritual. Was his action deceptive, or at least inconsistent with his views of Scripture?

For the literalist there is but one conclusion: with the originality of Jesus' command will disappear also all authority for the sacraments—they are henceforth merely man-made ordinances. But is it worth nothing to know that they rest upon Jesus' own example, in which the perpetuative idea is contained potentially, though not verbally? Whether the supper was on the night of the Paschal feast, or at an ordinary meal on the previous evening, historians may be unable to determine, and theologians may not agree upon Jesus' exact meaning; but it must be conceded that his act was not purposeless. It may not even have been his intention to establish a memorial feast, but he wished to emphasize some truth; and to attempt to impart a truth is implicitly an expression of one's wish to have it remembered. And baptism, though less is known of its Christian beginnings, seems to have received Jesus' sanction. There is then a real sense in which the sacraments rest on the authority of Jesus, even though the exact words commanding their perpetuation emanate from the disciples only. He is authority for the spirit rather than for the letter of the rites.

It follows that the form is not a matter of supreme importance: it is not the method of baptism, but the truth which Christians see behind it; not the question of an individual or a common cup, but the sacred memory it revives, which deserves the chief emphasis. The preacher of this age goes forth to a world that needs to learn the reality of the spiritual, and he should not be a mere allegorizer interpreting signs and symbols; not pictures of truth, but truth itself, should engage his best energies, and he will not allow the shackles of a dead past to impede the progress of the living present.

While we repudiate any necessity of following the past merely because it is a past, yet we should seek wisely to conserve the best it holds; and, indeed, the testimony which the Christian consciousness has given to an institution's worth may occasionally be almost as important as some so-called biblical authority for its existence. In this respect the sacraments stand on a high plane. They have amply approved themselves in the religious experience of Christendom. They have been esteemed, despite misconstructions and absurd controversies, of inestimable worth in vivifying two fundamental truths: the unity of the Christian body of believers in holy life, and the supreme meaning of Christ's death. These essentials of Christianity they have ever kept, with more or less distinctness, before the eye of the worshiper. In this their permanent value is attested, and our obligation to perpetuate them is scarcely less binding than it would be if enjoined by Jesus' own words. Their observance is not obligatory because enforced by a divine fiat, but because necessary effectually to emphasize Christian truth. So we appropriate the trinitarian formula, though on critical grounds it cannot be ascribed to Christ, because it most adequately expresses the principle which underlies the baptismal rite: unity with the spiritual church, bespeaking for the individual the blessings bestowed by Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. At first this grand fulness of truth may not have been realized, it being left for a later generation to formulate it in its completeness. It is not impossible that the testimony of the Christian consciousness of the past may sometimes be worth as much to us religiously as the spoken word of Jesus, provided, of course, the testimony is in harmony with the implications of his thought and action. So one may use devoutly in worship portions of the New Testament which he does not believe, in their present literary form, to have been original expressions of Jesus, but he regards them in perfect accord with the underlying principles of Jesus, and no doubt expressing what would have been said had Jesus made any definite pronouncement of the particular theme. One is no hypocrite because he yields unhesitating allegiance to a truth which may seem to him clad in an earthly garment, while his neighbor thinks it clothed in angelic white. The truth and not the garment is of first consequence religiously.

The sacraments are also substantiated by a subjective value, worth at least a passing notice. We reject the superstitious doctrine of sacramental grace when interpreted to mean that the ordinance is the medium through which the grace comes miraculously; but when the rite is looked upon as the means by which we put ourselves in the best attitude to receive the grace, then its worth becomes evident. What person who has a sympathetic knowledge of the truth symbolized can watch the baptismal rite without feeling the influence of Christianity's ideal of purity of life, or participate in the communion without appreciating the nobility of self-giving love?

Thus the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper rest, for their positive character, upon the spirit of Jesus' own act and the testimony of ages of Christendom. Their paramount and permanent worth lies in the significance of the truths for which they stand. In noble symbolic form they render these truths objectively real and furnish the worshiper a special means of subjectively appropriating them to the purposes of spiritual upbuilding.

THE MEN WHO MADE ISRAEL

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MOSES AND THE BEGINNINGS OF ISRAEL

19. Israel's traditions have much to tell us of the descendants of Abraham. Isaac's sons were Esau and Jacob. The former was the ancestor of the Edomites who settled down on the heights south of the Dead Sea and formed a nation with which Israel had much to do afterward. Although the elder son, he was outwitted by Jacob, who obtained the birthright and his father's blessing by a series of clever tricks which the people of later days loved to hear told. Jacob, however, had to flee from the wrath of his brother, and went back to northern Mesopotamia, where his Aramean relatives lived. There he was received by Laban, who, with a craft almost equal to his own, succeeded in marrying him to his ill-favored daughter, Leah, before giving him the younger and beautiful Rachel whom he loved. After years of service and rich in possessions, Jacob returned to Palestine. His name was changed from Jacob to Israel, the name by which the nation that sprang from him was called. He was reconciled to his brother. He had twelve sons, who became the ancestors of the twelve tribes of Israel. These were Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun, Joseph, and Benjamin.¹

20. Of all the stories that were told about these sons, that of Joseph was the fullest and most romantic. The favorite of his father, he was hated by his elder brothers. They got rid of him by selling him to some wandering merchants and reporting to his father that he had been killed by a wild beast. The merchants carried him into Egypt and sold him as a slave there. By his cleverness and uprightness, aided by an extraordinary series of events in which the

¹ Of these sons, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun were children of Leah; Joseph and Benjamin, of Rachel; while the others were born to their handmaidens, Zilpah and Bilhah.

narrators saw the hand of Jehovah, he rose from slavery to be the chief minister of the king of Egypt. Meanwhile a severe famine in Palestine drove his brethren to seek food in Egypt, and thus brought them face to face with him again. Finally they migrated into Egypt with their father. Joseph secured for them a district on the north-eastern border, called Goshen, where they pastured their flocks in the old nomadic fashion, and lived for many years in peace and prosperity.

21. It is possible only in the most general way to tell when these events took place. Certainly Egypt was a land old in history and civilization when these tribes entered it. It is at least probable that their coming was connected with the migration into Egypt of Semites who conquered the land under the leadership of the Hyksos, or Shepherd Princes. Even the date of their invasion and the length of their stay are uncertain. Certainly it is more likely that such a career as that of Joseph was run under Semitic foreign princes who came from the east. As they fell into the ways of living and ruling so long practiced by Egyptians before them, so the tribes which made up Israel now came more closely than ever before into relations with the ancient Egyptian civilization. This must have been especially true of Joseph and his house, who were prominent in the political life. This fact may explain why in the years that followed the descendants of Joseph played so great a part in Israel's history. The other tribes in Goshen, living their shepherd life, would be much less affected by such civilizing influences. The time was not long in coming, however, when all of them would face the critical question whether they would be drawn more closely into the circle of Egyptian life and be swallowed up in the undistinguished mass of peoples that made up the Egyptian state.

22. This critical period began with the expelling of the Hyksos from Egypt by the native Egyptians, led by the princes of Thebes (about 1600 B.C.). These princes became rulers of Egypt, and led their armies out to the conquest of Palestine and Syria as far as the Euphrates. They, the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, founded the Egyptian empire of the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries (1600-1400 B.C.), when Egypt was the great power of the eastern world. Toward the close of this period her grip on Syria was

weakened, owing to the advance of the Hittites from the northern mountains and the migration of the Aramean Semites from Arabia. In the fourteenth century, under the Nineteenth Dynasty Pharaohs, her empire was limited to Palestine. Among these kings the greatest was Ramses II (1324-1258 B. C.), who fought desperately with the Hittites, but was at last forced to make a treaty with them by which Syria from the Lebanon Mountains northward was yielded to the Hittites. After this he devoted himself to the strengthening of what remained to him. Under him cities were built, magnificent temples reared, and great activity in art and literature prevailed in Egypt. The court was splendid and the priesthood very powerful.

Just what happened to the forefathers of Israel during these centuries is not very clear. It may be that some were swept back into Palestine when the Hyksos were driven out. Perhaps some did not go down into Egypt at all, as their names are found on the lists of places and peoples of Palestine conquered by the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty at a time when the Israelite traditions represent all to have been in Egypt. In a similar list of Palestinian peoples on an inscription of the Pharaoh Meremtah, the successor of Ramses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty, occurs the first mention of Israel: "Israel is desolated: his grain is not." This suggests that Israel was in Palestine at that time. There can be no doubt, however, that a part, and the most important part, of those tribes which were soon to form the nation remained in Egypt.

23. The effect of Egyptian ascendancy in the eastern world would be to bring these tribes more immediately under Egyptian control. The Israelite tradition tells of a new king arising "who knew not Joseph," and who proposed to use Israel to build his cities and palaces. It is probable that this Pharaoh was Ramses II, and his design in this was to reduce them to complete subjection to Egyptian rule, and thus speedily to absorb them into Egyptian life. They were by this means brought to the verge of extinction when Jehovah raised up a leader and deliverer for them in the person of Moses.

24. As was the case with Joseph, romantic stories were told of the early life of Moses. Among other means used to weaken the tribes, the Pharaoh commanded that all male children born to them

should be thrown into the Nile. Moses' mother hid him as long as she could, then set him afloat on the Nile in a boat of reeds, and sent her daughter to watch its course. The boat grounded on the shore at a place where the Pharaoh's daughter found him, and took him to the palace, where he was brought up as a prince of the realm, learned in all the wisdom of Egypt. But he remained an Israelite at heart, and even slew an Egyptian whom he saw beating one of his countrymen. Fearful of the consequences of his deed, he fled into the Arabian desert, where he was received into a tribe of Midian, married the daughter of the chief, and lived many years in exile among them.

25. Meanwhile the Egyptian oppressor died, and another Pharaoh was on the throne. This was the opportunity for an attempt to deliver the tribes from Egyptian bondage, and Jehovah summoned Moses to this task. The exile saw a wonderful vision of a bush burning with fire, yet not consumed, and heard Jehovah's voice out of the midst of it calling him to return and lead his brethren out of bondage. In carrying out this work the problem he had to solve was twofold. He had to convince his countrymen that the time was come to strike for freedom, and the Pharaoh had to be forced to let the people go. His people had not forgotten that their forefathers had trusted in Jehovah, and the promise of deliverance roused them to new faith in him. Then, aided by his elder brother, Aaron, Moses demanded the release of the people. The Pharaoh at first refused, but at the word of Moses a tremendous series of plagues culminating in the death of every first-born son was brought upon Egypt by the power of Jehovah. Then only did the king give his word to let them go. Under the leadership of Moses the whole body started for the eastern desert, when suddenly the king changed his mind and sent an army after them to bring them back. But Jehovah was true to his promise. A pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night moved before them to point out their way, until they came to a halt before an arm of the Red Sea, with the Egyptian army behind them. Then at the bidding of Moses a strong wind sprang up, which blew back the shallow waters until a path was made, over which they passed to the other side. The army of Pharaoh followed and attacked them as they were coming out.

In the midst of the conflict the wind suddenly changed, the waters returned, and the Egyptians perished in the sea. Thus the word of Jehovah was accomplished and the people was delivered, as Moses had said.

26. This exodus from Egypt, culminating in so wonderful a deliverance made a deep impression upon Israel's life. Fathers told it to their children. It was handed down from generation to generation with a variety of details, which, as time went on, ever enlarged upon the mighty power of Jehovah. Some told how the waters rose up like a high wall on either side of the advancing host. The number of those who went out from Egypt was thought to be a million or more, and the pursuing army was made up of the entire fighting force of Egypt. Moses was said to carry a magic rod by which he wielded the might of Jehovah; when he cast it on the ground, it became a serpent; when he held it out, darkness fell at his word, and the waters of the sea went and came. Of all the strokes that fell on the land of Egypt at Moses' word not one smote Israel. From the crowning blow of the death of the first-born they were saved by slaying a lamb and smearing its blood on the door-posts of their houses—an act which ever afterward was done year by year, and called the Passover sacrifice in remembrance of the event, because the angel of Jehovah passed over the houses of Israel.

27. At the heart of all these stories were three vital facts which sum up the real meaning of this thrilling experience. These were that the people were free, that Jehovah had freed them, and that this freedom was gained under the leadership of Moses. The first of these facts affected the later history of Israel as the origin of our own nation in rebellion from England has affected us. It gave them a sense of independence and a hatred of tyranny, which flamed out again and again in opposition to foreign rule and the exercise of arbitrary power at home. It raised up leaders who, inspired by the backward look at this stirring event, revived the people and called them to battle for their ancient liberty. The second fact made Jehovah the national god in a peculiar sense, and rooted their liberties in the sacred soil of religion. Henceforth the champions of Israel's freedom were men of God. The third fact put Moses at the head of affairs, gave him the complete confidence of the freed people, and

thus granted him the opportunity of creating a nation inspired with his own lofty ideals.

28. How he did his work Israel's traditions tell us in a series of wonderful narratives. The order of events and their details are difficult to follow, but the meaning of the whole is clear. A nation was created, with institutions civil and religious, and set to work in the world. Moses led the people through the desert to a lofty mountain region called Sinai, commonly thought to lie between the two northern arms of the Red Sea. There, amid scenes of unparalleled sublimity, in thunderings and lightnings, Jehovah and the people made an agreement. The new nation took Jehovah to be their god; Jehovah accepted the nation as his people, and through Moses gave them laws and institutions. We are told how Moses went up on to the Mount, and abode forty days and nights with Jehovah, receiving his commands for the people; and how, on his return, he made these known to the waiting multitude, who solemnly accepted them; how a tent was set up near the camp, where Jehovah came down to meet with Moses as the people's representative and to speak still further with them. Thus Israel's religion was born, and its charter was the free-will agreement, or covenant, which took form in the Decalogue, or Ten Words, written with the finger of God on tables of stone and placed in a chest, the ark, the symbol of his presence.

29. Then Moses led them out again into the desert with the purpose of going into the old home in Palestine. They came to Kadesh, a place of springs, just south of the border of Palestine. But, instead of advancing into the Promised Land, they remained there for forty years. About this period the traditions tell us next to nothing. They ascribe this stay to the disobedience of the people, and the consequent anger of Jehovah who condemned them to abide in the desert. Spies had been sent out from Kadesh into Palestine. All but one of them, on coming back, reported that the people of the land were too strong for them. The people grew faint-hearted, and even wanted to return to Egypt. This distrust of Jehovah's power brought on his punishment, and, when the people recovered courage and proceeded to advance into Canaan, they were defeated with severe loss, for Jehovah was not with them.

30. This affair illustrates the difficulties under which Moses labored in the training of the new nation. Intoxicated with their freedom, they were unwilling to submit to the discipline of national life. They imagined that Jehovah's care for them was an assurance that no troubles would befall them. Disappointed in these things, their anger concentrated on Moses. They resented his authority and sought to shake it off. Even his own relatives conspired against him. They murmured against Jehovah when food and water failed, and compared the scanty fare of the desert with the flesh-pots of Egypt. Even under the shadow of Sinai they turned to worship a golden calf.

31. But all the while Moses went steadily on with their training. He inspired them with a respect for national justice and law. Each clan and tribe had its chief by whom its rude justice was administered according to ancient customs. But now above these petty chiefs stood the common leader, Moses, and questions affecting the common weal were brought to him for decision. To aid him in this administration of justice, he appointed a body of judges, who heard cases and decided according to principles which Moses laid down. Thus a new law grew up which superseded the old custom.

32. Thus Moses created Israel's law. In later times, as Israel grew in years and experience and new laws were needed, men thought of the beginning under Moses and traced the whole process back to him. Thus the Old Testament books, which describe the Mosaic age, ascribe to him the whole body of Israel's law, and represent him as laying down these precepts during the years of the desert life. While it is evident that the bulk of it belongs to later ages, they were right in making him its author in the sense that he first planted the seed; he was its founder, since in the creation of the nation he was the one who gave to Israel its earliest institutions and laid deep in the national heart the respect for justice. He is in very truth, therefore, Israel's lawgiver.

33. Moses was also the founder of Israel's religion. Under his guidance the clans accepted Jehovah as the god of the new nation at Sinai. His will, revealed through Moses, was made the law of the nation's life. One of the narratives embodied in the Book of Exodus even declares that Moses was the first to bring to the people

in Egypt the very name, Jehovah, under which they henceforth knew their God. "By my name Jehovah I was not known unto" the fathers. It is thought by some that the name was that of the god of the Kenites, a tribe of Midian among whom Moses had sojourned. Be that as it may, the idea it contained was the important thing. The name suggests the phrase "I will be," and conveys the thought that Jehovah will show himself to be the nation's god in the experiences of its history. It is a call to faith in God, like that which Abraham obeyed, and its acceptance stamps Israel as a people which looks forward to a future that God will prepare for it. Already that promise had been fulfilled in the exodus, where Jehovah showed himself Israel's savior. Later generations were wont to look back to that event as a wonderful proof of the character of their God. This Jehovah, who will show what he is in Israel's history, Moses also revealed as a god of justice. The lawgiver pronounced his decisions in the name of Jehovah, and the law which he imposed upon the nation he established as Jehovah's law. From that time forth in Israel every injustice was a sin against Jehovah, and every advance in righteousness had his approval. Good men everywhere could hope for his favor, and in their striving after justice and right might count on his help. Such a God Moses made known to Israel, and such a God Israel freely accepted. Thereby the nation took a unique place among the nations of the earth. Though it might stumble and fall, it could never utterly forget the choice it had made, or the destiny which that choice opened up before it in the future. This was the work of Moses for Israel.

34. At last the period of training was past, and the nation under Moses again set out for the Promised Land. This time the march was to the east, around the foot of the Dead Sea out in the eastern desert on the borders of Edom and Moab. On the northern border of Moab, at the river Anon, they turned westward toward the Dead Sea and the Jordan River. This region, occupied by an Amorite-Canaanite kingdom, was overrun, and the Amorite king, Sihon, was killed. The tradition tells us that King Og of Bashan, the land lying just north of Sihon's kingdom, was conquered at the same time. The way across the Jordan into western Palestine lay open. But Moses was not to lead them into Canaan. He had fallen under

the displeasure of Jehovah, for some reason that the traditions do not make altogether clear, and was forbidden to enter the land. His last days are full of solemn majesty. The story was told that after admonishing the people and blessing them, he ascended to the top of Mount Nebo, on the eastern border of the sea, and from its lofty top looked westward and northward over the valleys and plateaus where his people were to dwell. There he died and there his servant Joshua buried him. "No man knoweth of his sepulchre." His monument is the nation Israel which he created, and whose descendants revere his memory unto this day.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE LAND OF GOSHEN

THE MOSAIC MAP AT MEDABA¹

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One of the most interesting and important archaeological discoveries made in recent years occurred at the village of Medaba, in the east-Jordan region of Palestine, in December, 1896. Today Medaba is nothing but an ordinary Arab village, lying in the midst of a large plain not far from the ruins of the ancient city of Heshbon. The place figures somewhat in biblical history, being mentioned first in connection with the coming of the Hebrews into the Holy Land (Num. 21:30). It was then in the hands of Sihon, king of the Amorites, although it was a city of Moab. Medaba fell to the lot of the tribe of Reuben at the time of the division of the land among the tribes. Before its gates Joab, David's general, fought and won a battle with the Ammonites and their Syrian allies. It is mentioned once or twice again, and especially in the time of the Maccabees, when Jonathan Maccabeus had a bloody quarrel with the "sons of Jambri" who inhabited Medaba. It must have been a fairly strong town at that time, for shortly afterward we find that Hyrcanus besieged it for six months before being able to take it. Under the Romans it seems to have been a flourishing place, for the numerous remains at Medaba from that period point to a city of some importance. There are existing today ruins of a forum, temples, and numerous other buildings, besides, what makes it of special interest to the archaeologist, a number of very fine mosaic pavements in fairly good condition. Some of these are still bright and beautiful, though now they serve as floors for the miserable houses of the villages. In Christian times the place contained one or more churches, and belonged to the diocese of Bostra. It was afterward conquered by the Moslims, but later became the place of refuge for the Christian population of Kerak to the south of it, and today is one of the few Christian

¹ See an earlier article on this subject, by Professor Caspar René Gregory, in the *Biblical World*, Vol. XII, p. 244.

towns east of the Jordan. Both the Latin and the Greek churches are established there, though the population belongs largely to the latter. The town is not a particularly inviting place, and aside from its antiquities presents nothing of special interest.

Ten years ago there was discovered at Medaba a mosaic map of the Holy Land that has since proved to be of the highest archaeological importance. The following translation of a letter from



The section of the Medaba Map containing Jerusalem. Through the middle runs a street of columns, on which faces the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The walls of the city and the gates can also be seen. This picture gives a fair idea of the structure of the map.

Father Paul de St. Aignan, of the Franciscan Convent at Jerusalem, to the eminent French savant, M. Clermont-Ganneau, appeared in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, and will give at first hand the history of the discovery of this remarkable map:

Thirteen years ago Monsignor Nicodemus, the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, received a letter from one of his monks who was dwelling beyond Jordan. The

monk said that at Medaba there was a large and fine mosaic pavement covered with the names of cities, such as Jerusalem, Gaza, Nicopolis, etc., and asked for instructions as to what steps he was to take in the matter. The patriarch made no answer. Subsequently he was exiled to Constantinople and Monsignor Gerasimos put in his place. Gerasimos found the letter from the Medaba monk in 1890; he guessed that this was an important archaeological discovery, and straightway sent off a master-mason, graced with the title of architect, with orders, if the mosaic were a fine one, to include it in the church which was about to be built at Medaba for the use of the Greek population.

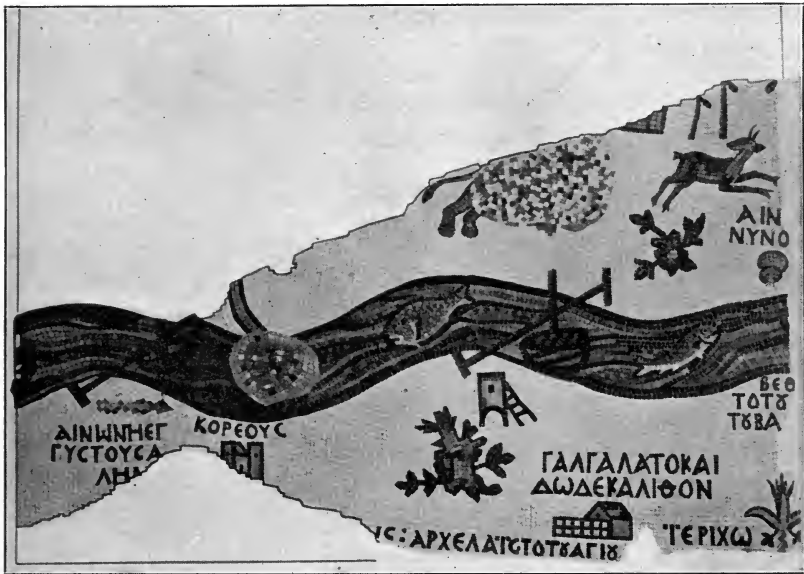
Alas! the intentions of Monsignor Gerasimos were quite misunderstood. The mosaic, which by the testimony of four monks was until then almost complete, was partly destroyed in order to lay the foundations of the church, sacristy, and outbuildings of the mission. The church itself was built without symmetry, that it might agree with the original one. The border of the mosaic with its biblical decorations is now outside of it. God only knows what these workmen may have destroyed, when we see by the ground-plan of the church that they broke the mosaic to set up a pilaster! The mischief is done. The *architect* came back and reported that the mosaic did not possess the importance which had been attributed to it.

Last December Father Cléopas, the librarian of the Greek patriarchate, went to spend a few days at Jericho. Monsignor Gerasimos, who had never lost his interest in the mosaic, prevailed upon him to push on as far as Medaba. This librarian is an intelligent man, a student, and a lover of antiquities; his judgment is to be trusted. He returned at the beginning of January, bringing back with him a sketch of the map and some notes.

Afterward the map was carefully copied and has now been published, though not in a perfectly satisfactory manner.

The mosaic originally covered the floor of a church, the exact date of which is uncertain. It has been dated, on various evidence, from the third to the seventh centuries A. D. At any rate, it is a first-hand source of information regarding the geography of the Holy Land in the early Christian centuries. The maker of the map followed the description given by the great church-historian Eusebius, as is evidenced by certain characteristics of the map itself. In all probability it is designed to show the Promised Land as Moses saw it from the top of Mount Nebo. This mountain is only a couple of hours' ride distant across the plain, and Medaba was the only town of any importance near it. As the map originally represented the country from Asia Minor to Egypt, of course it embraces vastly more than it was possible for any human eye to see from Mount

Nebo or elsewhere. It probably represents a prophetic vision which the artist conceived the old seer to have had in his soul, as with dying eyes he gazed across the Jordan valley into the new country of his people. The limitations of time or space probably never occurred to the designer of the map, for he includes many places of purely New Testament interest, and to all of them he gave the Greek names. All the words on the map are Greek, and the quotations from the Old Testament are from the Greek Septuagint translation. The



Section of the Medaba Map showing the Jordan Valley, with the river itself flowing through the middle. Across the river run two ferries. The trees in the foreground mark the site of Gilgal, while in the lower right-hand corner the top of the palms of Jericho can be seen.

artist had many difficulties to overcome in working with his stubborn materials, and of course with the imperfect geographical knowledge of his day the proportions of the map are entirely wrong. For instance, he makes the distance between Jerusalem and Jericho about equal to that between Jerusalem and Nablus, though the former are about five hours' ride and the latter about eleven hours distant from each other. The cities are represented by a building or two, and the larger ones are surrounded by walls. When certain

animals or plants abound, they too are represented, as for instance in the east-Jordan region, where a lion is seen pursuing a gazelle.

Fish swarm in the rivers, though none appear in the Dead Sea, where no fish can live. The mountains are a confused mass of colored patches, being the least artistic part of the whole work. Jericho, the city of palms, is surrounded by many palm trees. The designer evidently attempted to include as many things as possible on his



THE FALLS AT MOSES SPRINGS

map. The work was intended to be looked at from the west side—that is, from the opposite direction from which Moses would have looked at it from Nebo. But that, too, is another inconsistency that would not have troubled an artist of that time.

Of all that the map once included only a small portion now remains. All Syria north of Nablus and all of Asia Minor are gone, and only a few mutilated portions reaching from Nablus to the Nile delta have survived. What little remains, however, has already

furnished some assistance in the identifying of uncertain or unknown sites. To give an instance of this assistance, the city of Koreous is placed near the Jordan River. Josephus, the Jewish historian who lived in the first century A. D., mentions a city, Koreai, which modern writers have identified with the present village of Kuriyut in the mountainous country. The map, however, establishes the fallacy of this identification and shows that the present village of Kerawa, near the Jordan, is the successor of Josephus' city. Again, on the map around the city of Zora appear a number of palm trees which are not in existence today, but which show why the crusaders called Zora "Villa Palmarum." These two illustrations will serve to show the kind of assistance to geographical and historical study that may be expected from a further analysis of this remarkable find.

When the writer visited Medaba some months ago, he was much surprised to see the state in which the mosaic is at present. It is covered by a movable flooring, raised some few inches from the surface of the map, and entirely hiding it. When this was removed by the attendant priest, who said it had not been uncovered for six months, a part of the surface of the map was found covered with a thick coating of dust, a mud puddle hid part of it, and the tesserae of which the mosaic was originally made were lying scattered about at one end of the map. It looked much as if the rats had been at work there. The priest, producing a broom, swept off some of the dust, and ground the mud into the mosaic until he was told to stop for the sake of the map itself. The map has to be carefully covered, or the women of the village, while praying in the church, would carry off the stones of which it is made to serve as part of the oven furniture of their kitchens. The Turkish law necessitates its remaining in its present position, or else its passing into the hands of the government; for if it is taken up to be removed to a place of safety, it will cease to be the property of the Greek church, and will become subject to the control of the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. Meanwhile it has been published and studied by scholars from France and Germany, and is slowly being made to yield up its quota to the accumulated knowledge that the student of ancient times has at his disposal.

EXPOSITORY STUDIES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

V. ISRAEL IN EGYPT

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INTRODUCTORY: THE BOOK OF EXODUS

There is a very clear transition in passing from the first to the second book in the Hebrew canon. Genesis treats of the primitive and patriarchal stories; Exodus, of the making of the nation. The same three main strands of narrative are in both books. There is the older prophetic narrative (J), in which the divine name "Jehovah" is used from the beginning. There is the somewhat later prophetic narrative (E), in which the revelation of the name "Jehovah" is understood to have been made first to Moses at the burning bush (Ex. 3:13, 14). In this document, therefore, the word "Elohim" is used for the deity before the third chapter, but the name "Jehovah" often afterward. Thus one of the striking differences between the two documents ceases, and it is not always possible to differentiate them, so that a section must often simply be designated as JE. Markedly different from both the prophetic narratives is the priestly document (P), with its careful enumeration of genealogies, its exactness of numbers, its precision of detail, its entire reinterpretation of the ancient story from the standpoint of the more developed later age.

The Book of Exodus carries forward the story of Israel from the death of Joseph to the erection of the tabernacle, and falls into three parts: (1) Israel in Egypt, 1-13:16; (2) the journey to Sinai 13:17-18:27; (3) Israel at Sinai, chaps. 19-40.

ISRAEL ENSLAVED IN EGYPT: EXODUS 1:1-14¹

I. LITERARY SOURCES

The three literary sources are very clear in the first chapter. It is the priestly writer who records the names of the patriarchs (vss. 1-5), and then in a single verse (7), which reflects the easy generalization of a later time, shows how seventy souls multiplied and filled the land of Egypt. Verses 13 and 14, in characteristic repetitious manner, are P's description of the bondage. Verses 8-12 are assigned to J, who regards the bondage as arising from a change of dynasty in Egypt and a fear of the increasing

¹ International Sunday-School Lesson for May 19, 1907.

numbers of the Hebrews. E, to whom belong vss. 15-22, seems to think of the people as smaller in numbers, for they need the services of only two midwives. He also regards them as living among the Egyptians rather than in a portion of the land by themselves. He has, however, the common thought of the increasing number of the Hebrews.

II. EXPOSITION

Two distinct kinds of tradition were preserved in Israel regarding the Egyptian sojourn. There were the patriarchal stories of Joseph and his brethren, in which the migration of a single family with its dependents was thought of. Then there was the remembrance of the tribes held in Egyptian bondage and coming out with providential aid. The natural method of uniting the two strands of tradition was to suppose that families grew into tribes and that increasing numbers moved the jealousy of the native population, while a change of dynasty caused the helpfulness of Joseph to be forgotten.

There are a few scholars who deny that Israel was ever in Egypt, but the majority recognize the strength of the tradition, which is found in all our sources, and which was so confidently believed in the later Hebrew times. Nothing would be more natural than that wandering clans of southern Palestine should look with eager eyes to the rich lands of Egypt, and should seek opportunity in time of some famine stress to make a settlement across the Egyptian frontier. It is highly probable, therefore, that some of those peoples, that later formed the Hebrew nation, were permitted thus to settle in northeastern Egypt. It would then be natural enough that the Palestinian wars of Ramses II and his treaty with the Hittites would cause him to be somewhat distrustful of a considerable band of Asiatics on his border. His gigantic building operations called for large levies of workmen; so he may well have enslaved the people whose independence was a source of danger. Naville's identification of Pithom as a city built in Goshen in the reign of Ramses II lends also historical probability to the story.

This narrative gives an insight into the awful inhumanity of the forced labor of ancient times. Every captive was a slave, and the splendid structures of the ancient world represent the hopeless wretchedness of millions of men and women. Such a bondage must have been especially galling to the nomad with his passionate love of freedom. After-ages never forgot the horror of it, nor the glory of the deliverance.

There can be no doubt that the Egyptian experience had much to do with the making of the Hebrew people. The union in a common misery and in a common deliverance bound them together and prepared them

for their destiny. Had the Egyptian experience been more kindly, the Hebrews might have been absorbed in the complex population of the Nile valley and never have contributed their part to the world's life. The sacred writers clearly believed that the numbers of the people increased in accordance with the promises to the fathers, and the bitterness of the bondage was the occasion for their departure to their destiny in Canaan.

III. APPLICATION

The sense of destiny is strong in this passage. It is a thought that^a is writ large in the Bible. The Hebrews cannot be exterminated, for God has destined them to a glorious future. So the prophets preached, believing in a Golden Age when Israel should be God's people indeed. And the New Testament has the same conception: "All things work together for good to them that love God." Jesus declares in Gethsemane with marvelous equanimity that twelve legions of angels could save him from his enemies. It is a great faith a thousand times justified. We must not be fatalists, but in our measuring of causes and calculating of effects we must not leave out God. He is greater than Pharaoh.

And so we learn *the meaning of hardship*. How much pleasanter it would have seemed to Israel to enjoy the fertility of Goshen, and to increase and multiply without hindrance in the goodly land of Egypt! Surely they had had enough of the desert. A kindly Providence would have given them favor in the sight of their neighbors. Yes, and Israel would have been a nonentity in Egypt, with no place to display her strength. Satisfied with flesh-pots, she could have produced no prophet. But we always murmur at the hardships that are pushing us out. We chafe at our troubles. And so should we miss our destiny.

Then, welcome each rebuff
That turns earth's smoothness rough,
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!
Be our joys three-parts pain!
Strive, and hold cheap the strain;
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!

As we enter into the lesson of faith, we feel the great truth of *God's care for the oppressed*. We think of ourselves on the side of Israel trusting Jehovah in spite of difficulties. Let us be careful that we are not on the side of Pharaoh. Dr. C. R. Brown² has strikingly used these Exodus narratives to point the lesson of modern industrial oppression. It is unhappily true of our own day that task-masters are over the poor, even the

^a *The Social Message of the Modern Church*. The whole book is an interesting homiletic treatment of Exodus.

women and children, to make "their lives bitter with hard service." The modern Pharaohs shall not escape the day of reckoning.

CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION OF MOSES: EXODUS 2:1-15³

I. LITERARY SOURCES

The first fourteen verses of the second chapter are assigned by general consent to E. They are a continuation of the latter part of the first chapter. Instead of a people living apart in Goshen, it is clear that the Hebrews are living among the Egyptians in the royal city, so near that the bathing-place of the king's daughter is not far from the home of Moses' mother. There is some difference of opinion as to whether the whole of vs. 15 belongs to J, though vss. 16-23a are evidently his. In any case, E must have had an account of Moses' flight.

II. EXPOSITION

Moses is without question the most commanding personality in the Old Testament. The founder of the Hebrew nation, it was natural that tradition should glorify him, and that more and more of the institutions of Israel should be traced to his initiative. At last it was believed that the entire legislation which sufficed for Israel until the time of Nehemiah was all given by Moses, and finally the still more elaborate oral law which developed after the pentateuchal codification was also ascribed to the same great law-giver.

It is, of course, exceedingly difficult to find the actual Moses in the wealth of heroic tradition that has gathered about his name. Indeed, there are scholars who doubt that any such personage existed. But it seems historically highly probable that a great man should have arisen in the time of national need, and it seems religiously highly probable that the Jehovah-idea should have come from some commanding religious leader. Of course, such a personality would have grown in the imagination of his people.

The story of the birth and preservation of Moses is singularly beautiful. The mother saw that he was a goodly child and longed to save him from the cruel fate that had been decreed upon the male children of her race. The stratagem of the ark made of papyrus and committed to the waters near where the royal princess would come to bathe, of the sister ready at hand to offer the services of the Hebrew nurse, is a part of the exquisite story-telling, in which the Hebrews have never been surpassed. Of course, the story is not uncommon, and the well-known parallel of Sargon of Agadé is always suggested.

³ International Sunday-School Lesson for May 26, 1907.

We may conclude that in some providential manner the boy who was to lead Israel received an Egyptian training (his name may be Egyptian), and that his lot was thus cast rather with the ruling than with the enslaved class. The statements that are often made, that Moses was heir to the Pharaoh and actually gave up the Egyptian throne, are of course without the slightest foundation. Even the later Hebrew tradition, preserved in Stephen's speech, that "Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," is probably considerably beyond the facts. The institutions of Israel that may have come from Moses bear little trace of Egyptian influence. The training of this prophet was rather in the Midian desert than in the Egyptian court.

The account of the crisis in Moses' life comes in a most natural manner. The conflict between the two races is suddenly presented to him in the maltreatment of a Hebrew by an Egyptian. Moses' interests are all Egyptian, his instincts are all Hebrew. With no hesitation, but to be sure that he is unobserved, he strikes down the oppressor and hides the body in the sand. He will be the friend of his people and use all his influence to protect them. More than that, he will help them to right relations with one another. But, in his eagerness to do right, he has not reckoned with the perverseness of those whom he would serve, and he meets the rebuff which is the common lot of the reformer. The natural feeling of discouragement that he cannot help his people after his own fashion, and the fear that his killing of the Egyptian may be discovered, lead him to flee to the eastern desert.

Perhaps vs. 15 is entirely from J, where the different reason for the flight is given, that the king has heard of the murder and has decided to avenge it.

III. APPLICATION

It need scarcely be said that the religious suggestiveness of these stories does not wait upon the slow critical process of discovering the historical facts upon which they are built. We are concerned with the moral and spiritual truths that possessed the souls of the great writers, and with the suggestions that come from them into our modern life. The passage presents a necessity for the amelioration of harsh conditions, and suggests a lesson of faith and a lesson of method.

1. *The lesson of faith.*—It is a continuation of the thought of Providence that appears in the first chapter. There we see "God within the shadow keeping watch above his own." Here we see God's man getting ready. There always is a man preparing just before the crisis. There is a monk reading a Latin Bible. There is a Virginia gentleman learning the art of

war. There is an Illinois lawyer thinking upon great questions. There is a young college man training at Harvard, building up his strength in the great West, facing municipal problems in the metropolis. God uses men to do his work, and he is always getting them ready. Nobody knows. Only the mother sees she has a goodly babe. What an opportunity then for school teachers and Sunday-school teachers; for there may be a coming Moses in the class of boys! And what an encouragement in our hope for social advancement: God is preparing the leaders!

2. *The lesson of method.*—The instinct is to smite. We have seen something of the hatchet in reform. But there is little accomplished by mere force. Moses destroyed one oppressor, but that Egyptian was part of a system. Work far more fundamental was necessary. And the hot blow simply made all further effort impossible. Again, the reformer is so sure that he is right that he expects people to accept his leadership, and when they refuse he is discouraged. Helping the poor, acting as peacemaker, readjusting social misunderstanding—it is hard and often disappointing. At any moment the rude challenge may come: "Who made thee a judge over us?" There is no hope in superimposed reform. Social reformation will never go beyond personal regeneration.

MOSES CALLED TO DELIVER ISRAEL: EXODUS 3:1-14⁴

I. LITERARY SOURCES

After the short passage, 2:23^b, 24, 25, which connects immediately with 1:14 and bears all the marks of P, the E narrative is resumed. The great E passage is 3:14, 15, in which the covenant name "Jehovah" (properly "Jahweh") is revealed. This writer never uses the personal name of Israel's God before. On this ground, and because of the characteristic phrase, "I am come down to deliver them," vss. 7 and 8 are assigned to J, and with less certainty vss. 2, 3, 4a. Neither prophetic document gives any information about Moses' age. The three forties into which his life is divided are part of the artificial exactness of the priestly document.

II. EXPOSITION

With Moses in Midian we are on surer historical ground. The J narrative, as we now have it, finds him there, though indeed a previous Egyptian residence is evidently assumed. A very interesting question is: How far did Moses receive his religious ideas from the Midianites (or the Kenites)? It is clear that he came from the wilderness with a new reli-

⁴International Sunday-School Lesson for June 2, 1907.

gious conception and with a new name for his God; he had lived in Midian with his father-in-law, who was the priest of his clan; Moses' religion and Jethro's were the same, for Jethro acknowledged Jehovah (Ex. 18:11, 12); Jehovah was considered to have his dwelling on Mount Sinai or Horeb (Ex. 3:1, 12; 18:5). Manifestly the priest of Midian did not learn his religion from Moses. Did Moses then learn his from Jethro? Many scholars hold that he did so, and that he introduced Jethro's God to the Hebrews, who by a great covenant accepted him as their God. This would be, indeed, a distinct advance above the religious ideas of the times, in that the people would be united with the deity, not by a mere local or racial tie, but by express covenant. But the sacred writers may still be correct in identifying the God whom Moses proclaimed to Israel with the God of the fathers; for the patriarchs were of the desert, and it is altogether likely that only a part of the Hebrews went down into Egypt, leaving many desert clans among whom the remembrance of the Abrahamic covenant may have lingered.

But there is a deeper reality in Moses' religion than the source of the name "Jehovah." The soul's experience of God is a reality, for which historical conditions can only partly account. Jethro's experience of God did not create a nation and give a new spiritual impulse to the world. Moses' significance is that he was one of those elect spirits to whom the Infinite Spirit could speak.

The elements of Moses' religious experience are clearly indicated in the narrative. He never forgot the misery of his people. He meditated on their unhappy lot. A son of nomad ancestry, returned to the way of life of his fathers, he felt keenly the bitterness of the bondage in which his kinsfolk were held. And coupled with this was a high sense of their destiny. Moses believed in Israel. The passionate longing for a land that should be theirs had come down from the patriarchal times, and Moses longed to see his people in a goodly heritage of their own. Who was to be the deliverer? As often as the thought was presented to him that he was the man, he had thrust it from him: "Who am I that I should go unto Pharaoh?" But Moses came to believe profoundly in his God. What he could not do himself, Jehovah could do for him and through him. Perhaps the burning bush unconsumed and the name "I am" have something of the same significance: "The Unchanging One." Moses believes that he has a God who will be constant, who will keep covenant and mercy, who is strong enough and good enough to overcome the Pharaoh and the gods of Egypt. In a splendid act of faith he accepts the commission and becomes the deliverer of Israel.

III. APPLICATION

The four elements that enter into any great call to service could scarcely be more strikingly presented than in this narrative.

1. *Pity*.—The need is the call. Moses might easily have said that it was no concern of his. He had made an attempt and failed. He was a proscribed man, and therefore could not undertake any mission to his people. Moreover, the task was too great. Who was strong enough to free a tribe of slaves from the powerful Pharaoh? But the need is the call. If any wrong is being done, if anyone is in sorrow or pain, if there is any cry by reason of the taskmasters, then no man who realizes the need can escape its insistent call upon his pity. Woe to the man who shuts his ears to the call from the oppressed!

2. *Hope*.—A mission implies a hope. The man who works for others must believe that something can be done for them and that something can be made of them. Where others saw a band of slaves, Moses saw a nation. They were worth saving for the destiny that was theirs. The Pharisees saw publicans and sinners; Jesus saw the children of the kingdom. Where the careless saw the street Arab, Barnardo saw the sturdy young Canadian colonist. Where some see naked savages, the missionary sees a people clothed and in their right minds. Woe to the man who has no hope for the unfortunate!

3. *Humility*.—Great men are humble. It is only little men who are lightly ready for mighty tasks. If the great philanthropies and reforms and education and evangelism of our time are to wait for men and women who feel equal to the enormous demands, we shall make little progress. Where need and opportunity call we must make ourselves great in the steadfast performance of duty. And we are great, for we are partners with God.

4. *Vision*.—The call to every service is after the vision. So it was with all the prophets. The man who has seen God has seen his duty, and has been inspired to attempt it. With wonderful insight the New Testament writer has said of Moses: "He endured as seeing him that is invisible." The vision makes pity a passion, hope a certainty, humility a sublime faith, and the deliverer is born.

THE PASSOVER: EXODUS 12:21-30⁵

I. LITERARY SOURCES

The accounts of the ordinance of the Passover exhibit clear marks of composite authorship. Ex. 12:1-20 is from P, describing the Passover as

⁵ International Sunday-School Lesson for June 9, 1907.

it was observed long after in Canaan in connection with the Feast of Unleavened Bread. Every item of the ceremonial is carefully prescribed. Ex. 12:21-28 is JE, although it bears the marks of deuteronomic redaction, especially vs. 24. It indicates a much simpler and more primitive festival, and there is no reference to unleavened bread. Indeed, vs. 34 indicates that the haste of departure alone prevented the bread from being leavened. Verses 29 and 30 are ascribed to J, and vss. 31-36 to E. The latter conceives the Hebrews as dwelling among the Egyptians.

II. EXPOSITION

It is probable that the Passover is the most ancient of the Hebrew festivals, going back to the old nomad life. The meaning of the Hebrew word is uncertain, the idea of "passing over" being a fanciful derivation arising out of the historical explanation of the feast. It is clearly a sacrifice that the nomads had been accustomed to make at the time of the vernal equinox, and which they had requested permission of Pharaoh to go into the wilderness to offer (5:3). Probably it was an offering of the firstlings of the herd and of the flock, according to a very general view that such belonged to the deity, and as a thank-offering for the fruitfulness of their animals. The smearing of the blood upon the entrance of the house or of the tent was for the purpose of warding off pestilence. It was a propitiation to the deity for the protection of their homes, and it was believed that where such ceremonial had been neglected the destroyer would come (cf. 5:3). In early times there was no rigid distinction between piacular and covenantal offerings; so the slain firstling was eaten as a family feast.

It is this old festival that Moses bids the people celebrate. His words, "Kill the passover" (vs. 21), imply that he is speaking of a well-known custom. But it is at the time of the spring festival that the pestilence falls upon the Egyptians, and amid the horror of that dread visitation the Hebrews are able to make their escape. It is natural that they should ever have connected the two events in memory. The very pestilence which the sacrificial blood was to avert had decimated their enemies. It was one of those timely providences that made them sure that Jehovah their God was fighting for them. Pharaoh had refused to let them offer to Jehovah the first-born of their cattle; so they said, with a natural poetic interpretation of the plague, that Jehovah had slain the first-born of the Egyptians.

After the Hebrews settled in Canaan and became tillers of the soil, they adopted the agricultural festivals, one of the most notable of which was the Feast of First Fruits, celebrated with unleavened cakes made from the

first grain of the harvest. Naturally their old spring paschal feast coalesced with this. In process of time the historical significance was attached to the combined festival, and the whole ceremonial was supposed to have originated in Egypt, as the narrative of P declares.

III. APPLICATION

A very important thought arising from this passage is *the value of ecclesiastical festivals*. The deuteronomic reformers felt this very strongly, and insisted that the old feasts should be nobly kept, and that parents should be ready with a worthy answer when the children should ask: "What mean ye by this service?" Let it be granted that recurring celebrations tend to become formal, and let parents and teachers have such a sense of the great meaning of the past that they can always make the old truths live anew in the festival. Easter, Memorial Day, Flower Day, Fourth of July, Harvest Home, Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year, are more than holidays—they are holy days. Sacred memories should stir us; we should thank God for his deliverances and diligently teach them to our children.

But we also learn here *the development of old forms into new meanings*. What a history lies behind our communion service! Four or five thousand years ago the rude nomad killed the first lamb born by his young ewe and smeared its blood on his tent poles, that no angry god might smite him with the plague; then ate the flesh with his family in a sacrificial meal, thanking his god, who was supposed to be sharer in the feast, for the fruitfulness of his flock. And after the centuries a great deliverance came to be associated with this feast. And later it became a thanksgiving for all the fruitfulness of the land. And then it became a solemn commemorative ordinance. And then Jesus and his disciples ate of the feast, and the memorial Supper came into the Christian church, and today we eat in remembrance of him. So religious expression grows. Old forms and old words take new meanings; old ceremonials are modified. Only the scholar is concerned with the history of the word or the form; the religious man is satisfied that he finds God.

ISRAEL'S ESCAPE FROM EGYPT: EXODUS 14:13-27⁶

I. LITERARY SOURCES

The prophetic and priestly sources are again very evident in this narrative. P lays great emphasis upon Jehovah's might and upon the miracle of the exodus. To him are assigned vss. 15-18, 21a (as far as "over the

⁶ International Sunday-School Lesson for June 16, 1907.

sea"), 21c ("and the waters were divided"), 22, 23, 26, 27 (as far as "over the sea"), 28, 29. These sections give the story of the division of the sea by Moses' outstretched hand, of the passage of the Israelites between two walls of water, and of the destruction of Pharaoh by the return of the waters. The remainder of the narrative is mostly from J, though to E is assigned vs. 19a, where the angel of God separates Israel from the Egyptians; also perhaps vs. 25a, the reference to the chariot wheels. The remainder gives a clear narrative by J.

II. EXPOSITION

By common consent of almost all scholars, except the few who deny an Egyptian residence to Israel at all, the strong tradition of the passage of the Red Sea is held to have a sure historical basis. It was the birthday of the nation, it was the providential deliverance that made possible the achievement of their destiny. The psalms and the prophets are full of references to the great event. There must have been a notable escape that made such a lasting impression upon the nation.

Following the J narrative, which is evidently the most historical, it would seem that the escape from Egypt was a flight. The pestilence had thrown the Egyptians into dismay, and the Hebrews took the opportunity, under the leadership of Moses, to break up their settlement in Goshen and depart. It is impossible to form any estimate of their number. P gives a census of 600,000 fighting men, which has been supposed to represent several millions, but the older sources have no numerical statements.

The exodus was undertaken under strong religious impulse. The people had been stirred from their lethargy by the fervent prophet. The sense of a divine leadership is finely expressed by the guiding pillar of fire and of cloud. There was also a very wise human leadership. Moses did not attempt to force a passage across the fortified and guarded northeastern frontier. He led the people off the highroad of travel to the south of the fortified isthmus, where it might be possible to effect a crossing over the shallows at low tide.

But the Pharaoh had no mind to allow his slaves to escape so easily. He pursued them, overtaking them before they had reached the sea. Night intervened, and the Egyptians were unable to proceed. Then the strong east wind blew—that providential wind, perhaps the condition upon which Moses had reckoned—and the shallow waters were driven before it, making a passage possible. The Hebrews made the crossing by night, and early in the morning the Egyptians followed them. But the quicksands were

little adapted for the movement of chariots. Israel, encouraged by the providence that had saved them, fought valiantly from vantage-ground. The wind had ceased, and the tide began to rise in the shallows. Fear came upon the Egyptian army. "Let us flee from the face of Israel," they cried. But the tide rushed in too rapidly, and the Egyptians were drowned in the returning waters.

III. APPLICATION

The story of the Egyptian pestilence and of the Hebrew escape seems so well substantiated in its main features that a lesson may well be learned from the historical facts. By two extraordinary pieces of good fortune the Hebrews were enabled to make their escape, when it might well have seemed impossible. Such good fortune we rightly call Providence. Not once or twice in the history of nations a divine power seems to have saved a great cause from defeat. The coins struck after the loss of the Spanish Armada bore the inscription: "He blew with his winds and they were scattered." Napoleon's sneer that God is on the side of the heaviest battalions perhaps has its best answer in his own fate. *Dieu et mon droit* is a great motto.

Yet Moses put no careless trust in Jehovah. All his skill of leadership was used to lead the people to the point of safety; wise generalship must have been employed to make good the passage across the shoals while the wind blew that night, and a noble fight for freedom was made in the morning.

We are equally wrongly led when we are told that we must make our own providence, and when we are told that we can leave all to God and he will bring forth good.

The long years of Moses' preparation were all needed for the great crisis. All his skill, all his prophetic fervor, all his knowledge of the ways of travel, were needed for that night. God does not make up for blundering leadership, nor bring to good fruition ill-considered plans.

But when we have done our best, when all our human foresight and skill have been employed, then quietly, serenely, may we trust in a might that is greater than our own. The strong word may come to us in our flurry and alarm, in our worries about health and fortune and the conduct of the good causes that are near our hearts—a word that may give us courage and peace and poise: "Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of Jehovah, which he will work for you today."

Exploration and Discovery

THE ISAIAH INSCRIPTION

In the year 1889 Conrad Schick found in the village of Silwan at Jerusalem a group of four rock-hewn chapels, and gave a description of them, with his usual accurate plans, in the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund for January, 1890 (pp. 16-18).

The largest of these rooms is about nine feet wide by fifteen feet long, and has an apse about seven feet wide by four deep. The benches of rock on the sides led Schick to regard them as originally tombs of Jewish construction, afterward used as Christian chapels. He refers to the statement in Matt. 23:29 and Luke 11:47, "Ye build the tombs of the prophets," because he found on the wall of the apse an inscription of which he gave a representation by means of a squeeze. It was not Schick's habit to give translations of inscriptions, and he sent to London only the copy, which is sure to have been made with great care.

The editor of the *Quarterly* simply remarked of it that the chapel "appears to have been dedicated to the memory of the prophet Isaiah."¹

In the *Quarterly* of the same year, for July, Flinders Petrie told of a visit made by him to the place, which had been sold by its owner to the Franciscans, who had renewed its use as a chapel. He found Schick's copy of the inscription "not quite correct," and gave his own reading, but attempted no translation.²

In the October issue of the same year C. R. Conder mentioned the notice of Isaiah's tomb by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, but it is indefinite.³ Justin Martyr speaks of the death of Isaiah by being sawn asunder⁴ and a mulberry tree, said to mark the place of his martyrdom, is shown south of the old Pool of Siloam.

As to the inscription first copied by Schick, no one seems to have translated it. The researches of Clermont-Ganneau in Silwan were earlier, in 1873-74, and he did not see it. He did, however, advise "future archaeologists" to examine this ancient necropolis, "perhaps the most ancient of all those of Jerusalem."⁵

¹ *Quarterly Statement*, 1890, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 157.

³ *Pilgrims' Text*, Vol. I, p. 24.

⁴ *Dialogue*, chap. 120; so *Ascension of Isaiah*, chap. v.

⁵ *Archaeological Researches*, Vol. I, p. 319.

In examining the inscription as given by Schick and Petrie we observe slight, yet important, differences. Schick has short marks before K, after H, and after Φ, which Petrie did not get because he took no squeeze. Evidently a letter is missing from the last word, and Schick's mark there may be a part of the needed H. This word, apparently in the genitive, implies that we should so understand the proper name which precedes it, and which represents the Latin rather than the Hebrew or Greek form of the name, unless we find it in the rabbinic shortened form, יִשְׁעָה.

SCHICK'S TRANSCRIPTION

PETRIE'S TRANSCRIPTION

Continuing backward, we next note the disguised form of *ἱερος*, "holy," or more probably *ἱερον*, "chapel or shrine." The sign **Ϝ** would then appear to be a crasis for *τε* and *ι*, and we may understand "and shrine."

We are now at the beginning, and meet with the combination of letters which has made the inscription hitherto unreadable. Here we observe that Schick found a mark before the K, and that the second T of Petrie is with Schick a different sign. The top of this indicates *π*, and the small side mark may be a part of it. As to the first mark, it can not be *ι*, for that would not make sense. Any other letter preceding that is not likely to have been overlooked. If it is an imperfect letter like the mark after Φ, it may represent *ε*, which would give the word *εκτυπη*, with one mark after H not accounted for, unless we take it as iota subscript and take both words as in the dative, expressing the idea of dedication or the purpose of the builder. In this reading it is interesting to note that the squeeze taken by Schick is the nearer to a perfect copy, and that every small mark, disregarded by Petrie, is needed.

The meaning would then be: "For the bas-relief and shrine of Isaiah the prophet."

In this connection it is interesting to note the use in Matt. 23:29 of the word κοσμεω, "to garnish" or "adorn." In the case of a rock-hewn tomb this would evidently mean to carve out columns or other ornaments. Light-foot⁶ points out that a portion of the temple-offerings was devoted to building the tombs of the prophets. Schick's plan shows a small niche just at the center of the wall of the apse, and over this is the inscription, showing that the niche had been cut for the figure in relief and the shrine of the prophet Isaiah.

If these suggestions are not reasonable, their publication may call out better ones.

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⁶*Horae Hebraicae, ad loc.*

The American Institute of Sacred Literature

BIBLE STUDY SUNDAY

This may seem an early date to present a reminder of Bible Study Sunday, since the day is yet four months distant (September 15). But three of these months are the vacation period, when pastors and church members are scattered. Moreover, many of the ministers who observed this day in 1906 suggested that we "begin the campaign earlier."

What, then, are some of the reasons for adding another to the many days already observed by the church? First, the church as a whole is facing a new problem, or rather is coming to a new realization of an old problem, and of the methods by which it must be solved. It has tried persecution and the sword; it has tried the catechism and the rod; it has tried emotional evangelism. It is now about to try education, not to displace evangelization, but to supplement it and make it more rational. As in all forward movements, some are more alive to the situation than others; some are more ready to take advantage of the best means of solving its problems than others; but there are few indeed that are not in some measure affected by the revival of interest in, and perception of, the value of religious education.

It is as an agency for developing and directing this interest that Bible Study Sunday has been found useful. Those pastors who have made use of it have testified heartily to its helpfulness and effectiveness. But, so far as our records indicate, only about twenty-five hundred pastors have in any given year used it. In view of the limited campaign of previous years, this is encouraging; but when we consider the number of churches in the country (about 117,000) and the usefulness of the day where it has been observed, we are warranted in desiring and seeking a much more general observance of it. With all the growth of interest in religious education in general, and in Bible study in particular, there is ample need of a campaign on behalf of Bible Study Sunday, which shall tend greatly to increase the number of pastors and churches which will recognize the importance of such study as a means of developing and fostering religious life within the church and community, and the value of this method of bringing about such study.

In the second place, in every community there are associated with the church persons of varying types of mind. There is especially prominent at this time a class of persons who are conscientiously giving their lives to

works of charity and mercy, who are apostles of the great social reformers, and who frankly suggest that the church, and the Christian religion as represented by it, are not broad enough to accomplish the work demanded by present-day civilization. It is well that such persons should occasionally be reminded that the source from which, as matter of historical fact, came the impulse to all this philanthropic work, is the Bible, and pre-eminently the life and teaching of Jesus Christ; and that the greatest stimulus to such work today is furnished in the intelligent study of the Bible. It is well to study men, but it is Jesus who taught us the value of men. The chief impulse to save and help men has sprung from the religion of the Bible.

Third, in many churches ministers and people do not stand together on certain problems. The minister may be progressive, but have a very conservative church; or the people of the church may be progressive and possess great educational possibilities, but be ministered to by a preacher who prefers trodden paths, and shuns the labor of solving difficulties.

Now, nothing is so likely to bring pastor and people to see eye to eye, as studying the Bible together. The observance of Bible Study Sunday, and the inauguration of a campaign for Bible study, issuing perhaps in a Pastor's Bible Club, will contribute, as few other things can, to harmonious thought and action.

Again, the spirit of inquiry is abroad in the land, sometimes to a greater extent than the minister himself is aware. People are seeking information and guidance which those alone can give who have studied the subject, and have found the great fundamentals of the Christian faith, not only undisturbed, but made stronger, by modern methods of Bible Study. Bible Study Sunday furnishes an opportunity for special recapitulation of present-day positions and reinforcement of old truths. Rumors have disturbed the faith. It remains with the minister to restore it on broader foundations, capable of continual growth and expansion.

As an object-lesson to the children of the church, Bible Study Sunday has its special message. School, study, work, all begin with the child after the summer vacation. Then is his true New Year. He will regard his Sunday-school work as a more important function if it also has an annual beginning in which he sees, not himself and his comrades alone, but his parents preparing to take up the study of a special book—a book from whose pages they expect to receive instruction in the art of daily living. Let the Rally Sunday for the children, therefore, include the larger purpose of a Bible Study Sunday for all, with its possible results in organized classes.

Last, for the sake of the community outside the church there is value in Bible Study Sunday. The voice of the church for long periods does not carry beyond its own doors so far as the use of the Bible is concerned, but a concerted movement of the churches in any given community, to make prominent in song, sermon, and prayer the Bible as history, as literature, as a guide of life, will produce an impression which will be felt in the neighborhood and will arouse a curiosity and interest which may lead to investigation, on the part of those who have failed to recognize the Bible as a book of culture, as well as the inspiration of the Christian faith.

In short, whatever attracts attention to the Bible in a favorable way, whether for culture or for religion, is in the line of progress. Bible Study Sunday attracts such attention. Can any conscientious minister decline to lend his name and his influence to a movement which gives him a special opportunity to set the claims of the Bible before his people in a forceful way, at an opportune moment, with the added stimulus which comes from the idea of concerted action, upon a given day, throughout the world? There is no limit to the power of this combined action under the blessing of the church and its Head.

If it be asked, "Why does the INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE undertake this work?" the question is answered by the platform of its Council of Seventy:

The Council does not stand for any theory of interpretation, or school of criticism, or denomination; but for a definite endeavor to promote the knowledge of the Word of God as interpreted in the best light of today. . . . The Council is organized on the basis of a belief that the Bible is a unique revelation from God, and it strives in a constructive spirit to investigate the teachings of the Bible and to extend its influence among the people.

It is true that a comparatively small portion of the results of Bible Study Sunday can come to the INSTITUTE in the form of students; but just as a university stands for education, and not for a method of education, so the INSTITUTE stands for a careful, conscientious, interested study of the Bible, and not for a method of Bible study. It has its methods, but they are one among many. The chief work of the INSTITUTE has always been the promotion, not of a method of Bible study, but of Bible study itself. At great expense, therefore, it is justified in carrying on this movement. The question is: Will every minister who reads this page co-operate by immediately sending his own name, and those of as many other pastors as he can secure, to swell the list of those who will observe the day in September, 1907?

Book Reviews

A History of the Reformation. By THOMAS M. LINDSAY, M.A., D.D. I, *The Reformation in Germany from Its Beginning to the Religious Peace of Augsburg*. ["International Theological Library."] New York: Scribner, 1906. Pp. xvi + 528. Pp. 250. \$2.50.

The author has long been known as one of the best-informed students of the Reformation period in the English-speaking world. He knows his German well, and has had access to the most important sources. His work displays throughout a diligent use of the sources, as well as of the rich monographic literature of the period, involving expert use of the sources, that is continually pouring forth from the German press. More than most English writers on the subject, he has given attention to the political, social, economic, and intellectual movements of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, of which the religious movement was an outcome or a constituent part. More than a third of the volume is devoted to the discussion of the antecedents of the Reformation ("The Papacy," "The Political Situation," "The Renaissance," "Social Conditions," "Family and Popular Religious Life," "Humanism," and "The Reformation"). No very satisfactory reason appears for discussing the Renaissance, Humanism, and the Reformation in separate chapters. In the former the new learning is considered chiefly in its paganizing and rationalistic aspects; in the latter the work of earnest Christian men under the influence of the new learning (Savonarola, Pico della Mirandola, Poliziano, Colet, and Erasmus) forms the subject-matter. Full recognition is given to the influence of the widespread circulation of the Scriptures in the vernaculars of Europe by mediaeval evangelical parties; yet the author seems not quite sufficiently impressed by the evangelical movement that under various names and by the employment of various methods had leavened Europe with its influence long before the outbreak of the Protestant revolution, and was more distinctively religious and evangelical than that led by Luther and Zwingli. Yet he does not wholly ignore this set of influences (pp. 154 f.). The author recognizes the mediaeval-ascetic character of Savonarola's preaching, and ascribes importance to it chiefly because it resulted in the conversion of a number of Platonists to vital Christianity, and was thus instrumental in connecting the new learning with evangelical modes of thought.

A large part of the work is devoted to the life and work of Luther. "We may say without exaggeration that the Reformation was embodied in Martin Luther, that it lived in him as in no one else, and that its inner religious history may be best studied in the record of his spiritual experiences and in the growth of his religious convictions" (p. 193). The heroic elements in the life of the great leader are magnified in a way to satisfy the most devout Lutheran; while the extravagances, inconsistencies, intolerance, and cruelties of the hero are passed over as lightly and dealt with as apologetically as anyone could desire. It is probable that no modern, scientific, Lutheran writer has presented on the whole so sympathetic an account of Luther. He seems to proceed upon the assumption that a politico-ecclesiastical revolution was a necessity, and that much that is deplorable in Luther's writings and actions was due to his sense of the importance of conserving unity in his own camp, and thus retaining the favor and support of the princes. It would be more in accord with modern modes of thought to regard Luther's politico-ecclesiastical method of reform as a prodigious mistake and to compare Europe at the end of the Thirty Years' War—devastated, impoverished, immoral, irreligious, socially degenerate—with what Humanism, combined with old-evangelical life and thought, might have accomplished in a hundred and thirty years in the way of diffusing spiritual and intellectual life and light, without political support and control, without carnal warfare, without the fearful persecutions that involved the cruel execution of tens of thousands of the purest and most consistently religious of the people.

The treatment of the Anabaptist, the Zwinglian, and the Calvinistic movements is deferred to the second volume. This seems to be a somewhat unfortunate arrangement. The former especially constituted so important a factor in the development of the Lutheran movement from 1521 onward as to deserve to be brought into proper perspective side by side with Lutheranism proper. The publication of the second volume of this well-written and scholarly work will be looked for with interest by every reader of the first.

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Bible Side Lights from the Mound of Gezer: A Record of Excavation and Discovery in Palestine. By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER. New York: Scribner, 1906. Pp. xii + 232. \$1.25 net.

Gezer was a city of some prominence during the eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty. At the conquest of Canaan by the rulers of Egypt it was put

under an Egyptian governor. In the Tel el-Amarna period (1400 B. C.) its governor's name was Yapakhi. This city figures in Israel's conquest of Canaan (Josh. 10:33; 12:12), and was one of the list of cities partitioned among the tribes (Josh. 16:3; 21:21). In the reign of Solomon it was either the property of, or was taken by, the Pharaoh of Egypt, who passed it over to his daughter, Solomon's wife (I Kings 9:16). It finds frequent mention later, especially in the Maccabean period.

Now, the modern mound, Tell el-Jezar, stands on the right of the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, about five miles southwest of the modern town Ramleh. Its identification was due to Clermont-Ganneau, of Paris, about 1872. In 1902 Macalister began active operations on this site, and has continued down to the present time.

This volume is not a record of "finds" such as one would expect in an official report. It is rather written entirely from the point of view of the Bible-reader. There is practical silence on all lessons that these excavations might teach us regarding the general history of civilization, art, and religion. The present progress of the work has yielded material enough to fill several volumes, there being over 10,000 specific objects, 3,000 drawings, 500 photographs, and about 200 plans.

The eleven chapters of the book discuss points in the history of Gezer and of Israel that are illuminated by the excavations. Some of the most enlightening of these are: "The Horites," "The Iniquity of the Amorite," "The Golden Calf," "The City Walls," and "The Rebuilding of Jericho." For each of these themes Gezer has contributed a new item of truth, and made the Old Testament narrative live again. Take for instance the last one named above. In I Kings 16:34 we read: "In his days did Hiel the Bethelite build Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof with the loss of Abiram his firstborn, and set up the gate thereof with the loss of his youngest son Segub." The better rendering of this passage in the light of the "finds" at Gezer is thought to be: "Upon Abiram his first born he founded it, and upon Segub his youngest he set up its gates."

Now, the discoveries both at Gezer and at Ta'anek show that human beings, adults, children, and infants, were made foundation sacrifices, were incased in tombs and jars under the walls of cities and houses. With these skeletons are found some symbols of sacrifice, such as a bowl, probably containing originally some food, a lamp, or other vessel. Down in later times the human victims were lacking, but the symbols were still used.

The remaining chapters of the book are about equally helpful in understanding some otherwise obscure event or narrative of the Old Testament.

The book is well illustrated by forty-seven fine half-tones, displaying the progress made at various periods of the excavations, and some of the choicest "finds." The book bulks large with its thick paper and large type, but to read it is a delight.

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Christian Belief Interpreted by Christian Experience. Lectures Delivered in India, Ceylon and Japan, on the Barrows Foundation. By CHARLES CUTHBERT HALL. Barrows Lectures, 1902-3. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. xli + 255. \$1.60.

It has been remarked about endowments of the class to which the Barrows Foundation belongs, that rarely if ever can they be kept down to their original purpose for any great length of time. The express design of the founder of the Barrows Lectureship, however, is of such a nature that we believe it will long stand as an exception to the above observation. It was Mrs. Haskell's object that the lecturers upon this foundation should "present to the scholarly and thoughtful people of India the great questions of the truths of Christianity, its harmonies with the truths of other religions, its rightful claims and the best methods of setting them forth;" and that this should be done "in a friendly, temperate, conciliatory way, and in the fraternal spirit which pervaded the Parliament of Religions" (held in 1893 in Chicago).

In Dr. Hall's course of lectures Mrs. Haskell's wish is certainly carried out with a fidelity and strictness that can scarcely be surpassed. Dr. Hall takes Christianity to India as an enthusiastic believer in its superiority over all other religions, and with the sincere wish that his hearers may see their way clear to adopt it as their faith. He expounds to them in a clear and adequate manner its distinctive conceptions of God, of the Person of Jesus Christ as Incarnate Deity, of sin and atonement, and of the ideas of holiness and immortality, closing with reasons for regarding Christianity as the absolute religion. But he desires them to understand that he is not calling upon them to accept any of the forms in which Christianity is now held in the western world of Europe or America. These he considers to be varying and variable expressions of an underlying essence. They are made up largely by the growth about that essence of a shell or body which represents local and transient, racial and geographical, elements, not necessary to it, or deducible from it. It is true he must speak of the religion of Jesus Christ as developed in a definite experience under western

conditions, but he perceives that, if the East were to accept Christianity, a very different type of Christian experience might come into existence whose form would depend on peculiar eastern local and racial peculiarities, woven into the spirit and the life of the religion. Such a Christianity and such a Christian experience he would unquestioningly recognize as legitimate and proper.

Naturally it is at this point that Dr. Hall finds the greatest difficulty with his task. And the difficulty is twofold. It consists partly in the impossibility of sharply dividing between the essence of Christianity and some definite form in which it lives and works, and partly in the total uncertainty as to whether a Christianity which is very different from the historic forms of the faith would be recognized as Christianity at all. What Dr. Hall forecasts has its ancient parallels in the Manichaeism and Gnosticism of the early church; and the failure of these scarcely encourages the hope that a Christianity with a large admixture of Hindu philosophy can ever flourish. To say that Dr. Hall meets and successfully overcomes the difficulty at this point would be to misunderstand the nature and magnitude of it.

But Dr. Hall goes even farther than the admission that a Christian system growing upon oriental soil, and very different from the Christian systems with which the western world is acquainted, might hold a legitimate place among the latter as one of a fraternity. He anticipates that such a system would have much to reveal to the western world of the true inner nature of the religion of Jesus Christ. For, after all, he sees that Christianity was originally an eastern religion; that the East furnishes its natural environment; and that in such an environment the conditions are more favorable for the fostering and development of those principles in it which are still in the form of latent and unutilized germs.

Throughout the whole course Dr. Hall's view-point and method are those of the modern psychological study of comparative religion. His irenic tone, and tactful, almost adroit, presentation of the points of difference between Christianity and Hinduism, are certainly admirable. If he has not succeeded in inducing many to accept the gospel of Jesus Christ, he has through these lectures certainly done much toward preparing the way for such a consummation.

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New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

VERNON, A. W. *The Religious Value of the Old Testament in the Light of Modern Scholarship.* New York: Crowell, 1907. Pp. 81. \$0.90.

This is just the book for which many thoughtful people have long been looking. It furnishes an answer to the question: "How does the adoption of the principles and methods of the historical school affect the Old Testament as a guide and inspiration for life?" The answer is most emphatically to the effect that from the new point of view the Old Testament is far more valuable than it ever was from the old. The discussion is concise, clear, and interesting, and should be read by every minister and Bible student.

GIESEBRECHT, F. *Das Buch Jeremia übersetzt und erklärt.* Zweite völlig umgearbeitete Auflage. [Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.] Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907. Pp. xlii + 259. M. 7.

The thirteen years since the publication of the first edition of Giesebrecht's commentary on Jeremiah have seen the addition of several valuable contributions to the Jeremiah literature, and a great advance in the criticism and interpretation of that prophecy. A second edition has therefore been prepared in the light of the more recent publications, and the result is a thoroughly revised commentary, from a conservatively progressive scholar, which should be in the libraries of all who are able to make use of it.

LÖHR, MAX. *Die Klagelieder des Jeremias übersetzt und erklärt.* Zweite

umgearbeitete Auflage. [Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.] Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907. Pp. xvi + 32. M. 1.

A new edition of one of the best commentaries on Lamentations.

ARTICLES

LOVEJOY, A. O. *The Origins of Ethical Inwardness in Jewish Thought.* *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1907. Pp. 229-50.

A thoughtful study of post-exilic Judaism, aiming to trace the process by which ethical good came to be loved and prized for its own sake, rather than slavishly wrought out because required by external authority. The weakness of the article is in its absolutely ignoring the "new covenant" of the Book of Jeremiah.

SCHOLZ, A. *Eine Hypothese über Gen., Kapp. 1. 2. 4. 5.* *Theologische Quartalschrift*, March, 1907. Pp. 161-226.

A very ingenious and original hypothesis concerning the significance of Gen., chaps. 1. 2. 4. 5. The method is allegorizing run wild. For example, the story of creation is not intended as a narrative of the origin of the physical universe, but as a six-fold description of the one great creative day wherein the supra-physical world of men and angels came into being, and of the one great divine rest-day thereupon following, which signifies eternity. This is doing away with the conflict between Genesis and Science, no doubt; but it at once introduces a new conflict between Genesis and common-sense.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

ALLEN, W. C. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew.* (*International Critical Commentary.*) New York: Scribner, 1907. Pp. xcvi + 338.

This important work exhibits the well-known critical qualities of the International series, and

should claim a leading place among commentaries on the First Gospel. The gospel is shown to owe its name to the discourse source, which together with Mark, entered into its composition, probably between 65 and 75 A.D.

MACLAREN, ALEX. *The Gospel according to St. Mark.* (*Expositions of Holy Scripture.*) New York: Armstrong,

1907. Vol. I, chap. 1-8, pp. 339. Vol. II, chap. 9-16, pp. 320.

MACLAREN, ALEX. The Acts of the Apostles, 1:1-12:17. (Expositions of Holy Scripture.) New York: Armstrong, 1907. Pp. viii+398.

Dr. Maclaren's imposing work is less a commentary on the Bible than a series of homiletical expositions, full of insight and suggestiveness, based upon selected texts.

VÖLTER, DANIEL. Mater Dolorosa und der Lieblingsjünger des Johannes-evangeliums. Mit einem Anhang über die Komposition dieses Evangeliums. Strassburg: Heitz, 1907. Pp. 30.

Völter undertakes to show that by the "beloved disciple" of the Fourth Gospel John Mark is meant, and hopes to find in this supposed fact the key to the Johannine problem. In an appendix Völter exhibits what he considers to be the passages belonging to the original form of the Fourth Gospel, which was later rewrought into our Gospel of John.

LIETZMANN, HANS. Die Briefe des Apostols Paulus. An die Römer. [Lietzmann's Handbuch zum Neuen Testament III, 1.] Tübingen: Mohr, 1906. Pp. 80. M. 1.50.

Lietzmann's commentary on Romans presents a careful translation of the epistle into German, accompanied by concise yet scholarly notes on the same page with the text. There is an occasional brief excursus, as upon Flesh and Spirit, and the chapter of greetings (16), which Lietzmann recognizes as an integral part of the epistle. The notes seem to be especially strong lexicographically and there are abundant references to other commentaries, special treatises, and original sources.

The Fifth Gospel, being the Pauline Interpretation of the Christ. By the Author of 'The Faith of a Christian.' London: Macmillan, 1907. Pp. x+223. \$1.50.

A spirited and skilful sketch of the main elements in the religious experience and thought of Paul, psychologically investigated.

WENDLAND, PAUL. Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum. (Bogen 1-6.) [Lietzmann's Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, I, 2.] Tübingen: Mohr, 1907. Pp. 96. M. 1.80.

The important relations sustained by Hellenistic and Roman civilization and religion to Judaism and Christianity are discussed with admirable comprehensiveness and grasp. This first part of Wendland's work brings his survey down to the religious history of imperial times.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

BONWETSCH, G. N. Die unter Hippolyts Namen überlieferte Schrift über den Glauben. KOCH, HUGO. Vincenz von Lerin und Gennadius. KOCH, HUGO. Virgines Christi. [Texte und Untersuchungen, Dritte Reihe, Bd. I, Heft 2.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907. Pp. 112. M. 3.50.

With Adolf Harnack and Carl Schmidt as general editors, *Texte und Untersuchungen* now enters upon its third series. From a Georgian manuscript Bonwetsch publishes a translation of a treatise "On Faith" ascribed to Hippolytus, but really belonging to the fourth century, and showing most affinity with the works of Evagrius and Didymus of Alexandria. Koch discusses the position of

virgins in the church in the Ante-Nicene time (Terullian to the Synod of Ancyra, 314 A. D.), showing that the virgin's vow was in these earliest times a private matter, not at all the rigid, ecclesiastical, irrevocable thing it later became.

BREASTED, J. H. Ancient Records of Egypt. Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest, Collected, Edited, and Translated with Commentary. Vol. V, Indices. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907. Pp. ix+203. \$2.

This brings to completion Professor Breasted's monumental task. This volume of indices renders the vast store of materials in the four preceding volumes readily accessible, and is therefore a great saver of time and energy to the student.





MOUNT SINAI

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Editorial

THE ETHICS OF NONCONFORMITY

Most of the denominations of the Christian church that exist in the United States originated in some other country and have been imported into this country. Most of them would be in England or Germany nonconformists. In this country they are all free and equal before the law. Nonconformity, in the sense in which it is known in England, does not exist, because there is no standard to conform to. But nonconformity exists nevertheless, and is rapidly increasing. In every denomination men are holding today opinions which were undreamed of or strenuously opposed by those who founded the denomination, if not also by those who were the leaders of thought within it a generation ago. Presbyterians dissent from the views of Calvin and John Knox; Lutherans disagree with Luther; Methodists hold opinions that Wesley never entertained; within even so modern a body as the Disciples of Christ many have strayed from the opinions of Alexander Campbell.

What shall be said of the ethics of the situation? Are all these dissenters from the opinions of their spiritual ancestors traitors to the cause of true religion? Is such dissent immoral?

First of all, let it be observed that the spiritual ancestors of these dissenters have no case against them. They have suffered no wrong. In their own lives they did their thinking, independently or imitatively as they independently chose; did what they thought it right to do to influence the thinking of their own day, and by books and institutions to perpetuate their own type of thought beyond the measure of their lives. Many of them were dissenters from the views of their predecessors or from the majority of their contemporaries, and helped in their day to create a new theology, which in its turn became the old.

They lived their lives; they have no right of action against us if we follow in their footsteps and live ours. To each of them, if he come into court in the person of some self-appointed attorney, we may with good conscience answer: "Friend, we do thee no wrong when we also exercise the same liberty which in thy day thou didst exercise." He wrongs himself and his fellow-men who speaks in terms of light contempt of the thinking of the past and its struggles after truth. He robs himself who thinks the shortest path to truth is one that takes no account of the past. He betrays an unappreciative soul who feels no gratitude to the great thinkers that went before us, or reverence for them. But no generation owes it to any preceding generation to limit its thinking by the thoughts of a preceding age.

In the second place, no thinker owes it to the world to abstain from thinking lest it should disturb men's minds. Disturbance of mind is no more certainly an evil than the west wind that, while it makes men turn up the collars of their coats, sweeps the air of the city clean of its elements of impurity. Even if the past had gained a clear vision of all truth, and set it down in creed and book, it would not be a useless service to stir men's minds with doubt now and again, that they might gain for themselves a grasp upon the truth and make it, not a deposit gathering dust, but a realized and used possession, a bright and shining weapon for life's battle. It may be a debatable question to what extent it is advisable to suggest doubts that one does not himself feel, for the sake of stirring the stagnant depths of men's minds. But certainly he whose studies have led him honestly and deliberately to question the correctness of current opinions has little reason to fear to speak his question, in view of the fact that history has shown that the times when men have honestly spoken out their dissenting judgments have been in the end more productive of the best moral and spiritual results than the times of rigid conformity. Nor is the reason of this far to seek. Honest and courageous thinking, even if not wholly intelligent, breeds an intensity of conviction and a courage in action that are worth more than conventional conformity. And every attempt to determine just how much of current orthodoxy will stand the test of fearless criticism sends men back from the accidental and superficial and peripheral to the central and fundamental truths that cannot be shaken.

But, in fact, we have no occasion to assume that the past acquired and transmitted to us all truth. It is not well that we should belittle the past and boast overmuch of our new acquisitions. But he surely knows little of past or present who does not know that every day men are learning things that the past did not know, and are really, though slowly, adding to the sum of human knowledge, enlarging the horizon of human vision. It is true indeed that much that calls itself new truth is new, but not true; or true, but not new except to the man who thinks himself its discoverer; or both new and true, but unimportant. But there is no supreme court that is competent to pass on all supposed discoveries and determine their right to be given to the world. That we may go forward; that, whether we go forward or stand still, we may hold what we hold with clear and living conviction, not with the stiffened grip of intellectual death, even disturbers of our intellectual peace must not be arrested and imprisoned until a jury of their peers has had time to determine whether what they are bringing to us is truth or error; and by that time they need not be thus restrained.

But the real question in our day and land is whether the thinker of new thoughts shall think within the body to which he belongs, or must pay for the privilege by withdrawing from it. Is nonconformity either a wrong to the denomination, to be punished by expulsion, or a privilege, to be purchased by withdrawal?

Let it be granted that there are causes which might justly demand the withdrawal of a member from a Christian church, and that might even justify his expulsion. Whatever may be true under a state church, no voluntary religious organization can be expected continuously to carry the burden of members the immorality of whose lives, or the intolerance of whose spirit, or the factiousness of whose conduct, defeats the very ends for which the organization exists. The interests of the many cannot be sacrificed to the preferences of the few.

Let it be granted also that there must be limits to the differences of opinion that may exist within any body of men who are to work together, and that this principle applies to a Christian church or denomination. Mohammedans and Roman Catholics and Unitarians would find it difficult to worship together to the edification

of any of them, or to work together in religious matters for the benefit of anyone else.

But these are only academic questions. The practical problem today is whether a man who is in the church of his present choice, even if originally there by the accident of birth, is bound to leave it or ought to be excluded from it, not because he is no longer in sympathy with its aims and tendencies, not because he has surrendered his Christian faith, but because he is no longer in agreement with certain doctrinal opinions of the majority of the body to which he belongs. We hold that the sole test which any church or denomination ought to set up is, not what will tend to the maintenance of opinions formerly held in the body, but what will, on the whole and in the large, tend to the enlightenment and welfare of men. And to this question, while it may be difficult to return specific answer in individual cases, there can be no doubt what the general answer should be. The church that would be effective, that would win and hold the allegiance of thinking men, and continue to serve its day and generation, must give to its members large liberty of individual thought and belief.

It must do this because narrow limitation of opinion tends to intellectual dishonesty or to intellectual stagnation. Human nature, even in truly religious men, is not beyond the reach of the temptation to conceal thought or to stop thinking, if the privilege of free thought must be purchased by denominational emigration. The association of a man with the church in which he has lived from his youth is a real asset of the spiritual life. It cannot, it ought not to be, lightly sacrificed. But if denominational conformity is to be strictly insisted upon, many men must choose between sacrificing the valued and helpful associations of life, and the surrender of honest and frank thinking. It is not wise unnecessarily to force upon men this choice. Especially is this unwise in view of its effect upon the minds of the young. For it inevitably creates the impression that conformity is more virtuous than honesty and frankness.

A large measure of freedom ought to be freely granted, because the denial of it tends to schism and the multiplication of sects. This is in itself an evil, and a serious one. It emphasizes the differences—often relatively unimportant differences—between denominations, and minimizes the great central and cardinal features of the Christian

religion. It generates faction and rivalry where there should be harmony and unity. It consumes in strife the energy that should be spent in effective work for the unfortunate and the sinning. Doubtless there must be denominations. We cannot all see alike, even in those things in which we must be in measurable agreement in order to work in harmony. But the progress of Christianity will be marked in no small measure by the extent to which we can work harmoniously with men of like purpose and character, though differing with us in opinion.

Again, a large measure of liberty of opinion ought to be granted, because only thus can the church make that progress in knowledge that is needful for its greatest effectiveness. That the church of the past has again and again accepted and defended as vital truth opinions that further investigation has proved to be untenable is so plain a matter of history that none can for a moment deny it. It is no disgrace to the church that her officers and leaders once held the Ptolemaic theory of the place of the earth in the universe. Theologians can no more transport themselves to future centuries than other thinkers. But it is a blot upon her record, it was a stupendous blunder, that the church undertook by persecution to hold men to that theory against its younger rival, the Copernican theory. We cannot fairly find fault that theologians once held to the inerrancy of the books of the Bible; they were heirs of the past, and of necessity of its errors as well as of its truth. But it is not to the credit of the church that it deposed from its offices men whose studies had revealed to them the untenableness of this position, and whose sense of scholarly responsibility led them to declare what they had learned. The right to make progress; to accept newly discovered truth, be it important or unimportant; to discard old error, be it small or great, is a right which no church can afford to surrender or to hold lightly. Least of all in this age of active thought and intellectual progress can it afford it.

But if we suffer men to remain in the church while dissenting from its cherished doctrines, are we not in danger of being carried quite away from the old foundations into we know not what vagaries and errors? The question involves two assumptions: first, that we already know that the view of the dissenter is error—that he is wrong and we are right; and, second, that, in the comparison of truth and

error, truth is likely to be worsted. Both assumptions have some semblance of basis, it must be granted, in past history. Yet neither premise is wholly justified. The dissenter has a remarkable faculty of turning out to be right. And in the long run it is truth and not error that wins. Should not the church then be slow to invite the honest dissenter to leave? Given high character and honest intentions on the part of the holder of new opinions, it is surely better to trust the truth to win its way, than to create strife and division, and run the risk of fighting, not error, but truth, by demanding the withdrawal of the dissenter.

But how large liberty shall the dissenter expect, and the church grant? Liberty in the matters spoken of above is now granted. But other questions have come to the front. Men are now asking: What is the ultimate basis of authority in religion? Is the philosophical-miraculous the historically possible? What is the truth about the virgin birth of Jesus, and his resurrection? What is the relation of his death to the forgiveness of sins? And again the demand is repeated concerning those who question or deny the opinions commonly held on these subjects in past times: "If these men do not agree with us, let them go out from among us. Why do they disturb our peace?" Is this demand wise? Ought they to whom it is addressed to obey it? Ought they who offer it to desire that it should be followed? Is the course which they advocate for the interest of the truth and the church? The answer to the question depends ultimately on the question whether the dissenter's continuance in the denomination to which he belongs will contribute to the practical effectiveness of that denomination for the common ends of the Christian church. If the purpose for which the church exists is to promote human welfare through the promotion of intelligence, morality, and religion, and if fidelity to truth, and freely granted freedom to investigate and think, are more essential to the promotion of these ends than quietness of mind or the perpetuation of the views of the past, then he only should be asked to withdraw who by the immorality of his character, or the factiousness of his spirit and conduct, is seriously hindering the practical effectiveness of the church.

JERUSALEM IN BIBLE TIMES

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VI. JERUSALEM IN THE EARLIEST TIMES

Concerning the origin of the city of Jerusalem we have no information. Even the meaning of the name is unknown. Various Semitic etymologies have been proposed, but all are uncertain, and it is possible that the name goes back to the primitive non-Semitic inhabitants of Palestine. Ezek. 16:3 says of Jerusalem: "Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of the Canaanite; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite." This statement may point to a tradition that the city was originally founded by Amorite colonists, settling in Hittite territory.

In Gen. 14:18 we read that Melchizedek, King of Salem, blessed Abram, and Abram gave him tithes of the spoil taken from the kings of the East. Tradition identifies Salem with Jerusalem. This idea first appears in Ps. 76:2, and is followed by Josephus (*Ant.* i, 10:2; vii, 3:2), and by other Jewish writers. In favor of this identification are the facts that Melchizedek bears a name of similar formation with Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem in the time of Joshua, and that he holds a conspicuous position among the city-kings of Canaan analogous to that of the king of Jerusalem in the Tell el-Amarna letters. The fact that Abram pays tithes to him and recognizes him as a priest of the Most High God seems also to indicate a desire on the part of the writer of Gen., chap. 14, to connect the sanctity of Jerusalem with the ancient priesthood of Melchizedek. This story, however, is of very uncertain origin. By most recent critics it is regarded as a *midrash* that was not inserted in the Book of Genesis until after the exile. Upon what basis of historical tradition it rests is unknown. This story, accordingly, can scarcely be utilized to throw light upon the early history of Jerusalem.

The first emergence of the city into the light of history is in the Tell el-Amarna letters. These are dispatches sent to the

kings of Egypt by petty kings of the land of Canaan. They date from about 1400 B. C., and are written on clay tablets in the Babylonian language and cuneiform script. Seven of these letters were sent by Abdi-khiba, king of Jerusalem.¹ From these letters it appears that the king of Jerusalem was one of the more important of the city-kings, and that he had a number of towns tributary to him. His city was probably walled, because in one of the letters² he says: "We will open Jerusalem to the guards whom thou shalt send by the hand of Khaya." In all these letters he begs for the help of the king of Egypt against a people known as the Khabiri. The name is etymologically identical with "Hebrews," and these were apparently Bedawin clans of the same stock to which the later Israelites belonged. We are probably to think of the Jerusalem of Abdi-khiba as presenting a similar appearance to Gezer of the same period as it has been excavated by Mr. Macalister. The houses were one-story structures of rough stone, plastered with mud and covered with thatched roofs, containing only two or three rooms. The city wall was a rampart of earth faced on the inside and outside with rough stones gathered off of the fields. From the Tell el-Amarna letters we learn that there was considerable wealth accumulated in the cities of Canaan at the time of the Egyptian supremacy; that an active commerce was carried on; and that the country was as prosperous as at any later period of its history.

After the time of Abdi-khiba Jerusalem disappears from our view until the Hebrew conquest, about 1200 B. C. According to Josh. 10:1, Adoni-zedek, its king, united the kings of Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon in a confederacy against the Israelites. He was defeated by Joshua, but the city of Jerusalem was not captured. According to Josh. 15:63, "As for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out: but the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Judah at Jerusalem, unto this day." In Judg. 1:1-7 we have a duplicate account of the war against Adoni-zedek. Here the name appears as Adoni-bezek, but this is evidently a textual corruption induced by the name Bezek in vs. 5. In vs. 7 we are told that they (that is, his own people) brought

¹ Winckler, *Thontajeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, Nos. 179-85.

² *Ibid.*, No. 185.

him to Jerusalem. This shows that he was the king of Jerusalem, and makes it evident that he was the same person as Adoni-zedek of the narrative in Josh., chap. 15. Judg. 1:21 also records that, although Israel defeated the king of Jerusalem, it was not able to take his capital: "And the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem: but the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day." The truth of these statements is attested by the narrative of Judg. 19:12, where the Levite is unwilling to turn aside into Jerusalem because it is a city of aliens. In startling contrast with these statements, Judg. 1:8 records: "The children of Judah fought against Jerusalem and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword and set the city on fire." This statement comes from the hand of one of the late editors of the Book of Judges, and is clearly unhistorical. Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Canaanites until it was taken from them by David.

In regard to the location and size of Canaanitish Jerusalem we have little information. In II Sam. 5:6 f. we are told that David took the stronghold of the Jebusites and renamed it after himself; consequently, the acropolis of ancient Jerusalem must have occupied the site of the later City of David. This, as we have seen, lay on the southern end of the eastern hill. This is the only natural location for the Jebusite fortress, since it is close to Gihon, the only spring that is near the city.

Whether the city was limited to the eastern hill or also spread to the western hill is uncertain. It seems to have been a place of considerable importance. Its king in the time of the Amarna letters had a number of smaller places tributary to him. Adoni-zedek in the time of Joshua was the head of a coalition. In Judg. 1:7 he boasts that he had cut off the thumbs and great toes of seventy kings, and had compelled them to gather their food under his table. If the story of Melchizedek in Gen., chap. 14, has a historical kernel, it also indicates the importance of the place. It seems hardly likely that a city of such prominence, which the Israelites were unable to capture during the entire period of the Judges, should have been limited to the small area of the southern end of the eastern hill. We are almost forced to believe that it extended to the western hill

even before its capture by David. In Judg., chap. 19, the Levite in going from Bethlehem to Gibeah passes by the city of the Jebusites. The natural road from Bethlehem to Gibeah leads past the western hill, and the mention of a Jebusite city in this connection seems, accordingly, to show that the western hill was occupied. The Priestly Code, Josh. 15:8, speaks of the Cliff of the Jebusites as lying north of the Valley of Hinnom. The only cliff that lies north of Hinnom is the western hill, and the name "Cliff of the Jebusites" may be a survival of an ancient designation. Josephus (*Ant.*, vii, 3:2; *Wars*, v, 4:1) recognizes both the Upper and the Lower City as existing as early as the time of the Judges.

In II Sam. 5:6 f. = I Chron. 11:4 f. we read:

And the king and his men went to Jerusalem against the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land: which spake unto David, saying, Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither: thinking, David cannot come in hither. Nevertheless David took the strong hold of Zion; the same is the City of David. And David dwelt in the strong hold, and called it the City of David.

David chose Jerusalem as his capital, partly because of the strength of its position, and partly because it was located on the border between Judah and Benjamin, and therefore was neutral ground. By making it his residence he did not give offense to either tribe, as he must have done if he had selected a site within the territory of the other. A number of building operations are ascribed to David after his capture of the city.

1. *Millo*.—In II Sam. 5:9 mention is made of the Millo as the starting-point of the wall that inclosed the City of David. The statement that he built "round about from Millo" suggests that Millo was already in existence, as a part of the earlier Canaanitish fortification. The name is derived from a root which means "to fill," and means a "filling" or "embankment." It is not in common use in Hebrew, but appears in Assyrian in the forms *mulû* or *tamlû*, which mean an embankment on which a palace or temple stands. When one considers the extent of Babylonian influence in Canaan during the third millennium B. C., it seems likely that Millo was a Canaanitish name formed under Babylonian influence. This view is favored by the fact that Beth-Millo occurs as a proper name in the Canaanitish city of Shechem in Judg. 9:6. We meet the Millo

again in I Kings 9:15, "This is the reason of the levy which king Solomon raised; for to build the house of the Lord, and his own house, and Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem, and Hazor, and Megiddo, and Gezer;" I Kings 9:24, "Pharaoh's daughter came up out of the City of David unto her house which Solomon had built for her: then did he build Millo;" I Kings 11:27, "Solomon built Millo, and closed up the gap of the City of David his father;" II Chron. 32:5,



Photograph by L. B. Paton

NORTH END OF THE CITY OF DAVID

"And he took courage, and built up all the wall that was broken down, and raised it up to the towers, and the other wall without, and strengthened Millo in the City of David." In all these passages the LXX translates Millo by Acra, which, as we have seen, was the name of the Syrian stronghold on the east hill between the Temple and the City of David.

From these passages we gather that the Millo was a fortress of some sort that could be successively enlarged by David, Solomon, and Hezekiah; that it lay in the City of David—that is, somewhere

on the southern end of the eastern hill; and that it was part of the inclosing wall of the City of David, and was designed to defend that city at its weakest point. The only weak point in the fortification of the southeast hill is the narrow neck which connects it with the Temple hill on the north. When we remember that Millo is identified by the LXX with the Acra which overlooked the Temple, it seems probable that we should regard it as a rampart which protected



Photograph by L. B. Paton

SITE OF THE CITY OF DAVID

the northern side of the City of David. Probably it was a wall of earth faced with stones, such as the excavations have disclosed in the city of Gezer of the same period. Such a rampart, constructed by filling in earth between two walls of stone, could be appropriately described as a Millo, or "filling." It could also easily be enlarged by later monarchs. The wall at Gezer has been strengthened by having a new face built and a new filling inserted between it and the old wall. In some such way David, Solomon, and Hezekiah may have built out the old Millo of the Canaanites.

2. *David's Wall*.—In the same passage which mentions the Millo (II Sam. 5:9) it is stated that "David built round about from Millo." This can only refer to a wall which inclosed the City of David. This wall began at the Millo—that is, the embankment—across the neck of land toward the north, and followed the eastern side of the southeast hill at some distance above the bed of the Kidron. At the southern end of the hill it stood on the top of the rocky cliff that rises above Siloam, and then followed the western side of the hill above the bed of the Tyropoeon Valley until it returned to the Millo. Traces of this wall and of the rock scarps that formed its foundation were discovered by Bliss on the southern and eastern sides of the southeast hill. No traces of a wall in the Tyropoeon Valley have yet been discovered.

3. *David's Palace*.—In II Sam. 5:9, 11, it is recorded that "David built him a house in the City of David" (in II Sam. 5:9, instead of the unintelligible words "and inward" of the Hebrew text, the LXX reads, "and his house"). Neh. 12:37 speaks of the procession of the Levites as coming up the steps of the City of David, and then passing the House of David on their way to the Water Gate which opened on the east side of the city above the spring Gihon. This indicates that the Palace stood on high ground at the north end of the City of David (cf. II Sam. 11:2). According to II Sam. 5:11 the Palace was built for David by Tyrian workmen sent him by Hiram, king of Tyre. The walls were built of stone, and it was roofed with cedar beams brought from the Lebanon (cf. II Sam. 7:2). The necessity of bringing Tyrian workmen shows that the native architecture of Israel was not advanced, and the mention of cedar wood as a curiosity indicates that the use of large beams in architecture was previously unknown. The royal palace is mentioned also in II Sam. 11:8, 9, 27; 15:16; 19:11, 30; 20:3.

4. *The Guard House*.—In Neh. 3:16 mention is made of the "House of the Heroes." This seems to have been a dwelling for the bodyguard, a list of whose names is given in II Sam. 23:8-39. In regard to the location of this building all that is known is that it stood in the City of David on the eastern hill.

5. *The Tent of the Ark*.—In II Sam. 6:10, 12, 17=II Chron. 1:4f. we are told that David prepared a sanctuary for the Ark in the City

of David. This is mentioned again in I Kings 2:28 and 8:4. This sanctuary was merely a tent, designed for the temporary accommodation of the Ark, and, consequently, no trace of its location survived in later times.

6. *The Tomb of David.*—II Kings 2:10 tells us that "David slept with his fathers and was buried in the City of David." This Sepulcher of the Kings is mentioned again in the case of Solomon (I Kings 11:43=II Chron. 9:31); Rehoboam (I Kings 14:31=II Chron. 12:16); Abijah (I Kings. 15:8=II Chron. 14:1); Asa (I Kings 15:24=II Chron. 16:14); Jehoshaphat (I Kings 22:50=II Chron. 21:1); Jehoram (II Kings 8:24=II Chron. 21:20); Ahaziah (II Kings 9:28=II Chron. 22:9); Joash (II Kings 12:21=II Chron. 24:25); Amaziah (II Kings 14:20=II Chron. 25:28); Uzziah (II Kings 15:7=II Chron. 26:23); Jotham (II Kings 15:38=II Chron. 27:9); Ahaz (II Kings 16:20=II Chron. 28:27); Hezekiah (II Chron. 32:33). Chronicles differs from Kings in reporting Asa as buried "in his own sepulcher" instead of "with his fathers," and Jehoram and Joash as buried "in the City of David, but not in the Tombs of the Kings." According to the Chronicler, apparently, Ahaziah was buried at Samaria. The Book of Kings represents all the kings from David to Ahaz as having been buried with their fathers in the City of David.

Ezek. 43:7 speaks of the tombs of the kings as adjoining the wall of the Temple. Neh. 3:16 mentions "the sepulchers of David" after the Pool of Siloam and the stairs of the City of David, and before Ophel and the Water Gate. From these passages it is clear that the tombs of the kings lay on the southeastern hill near the Temple and royal residence. Clermont-Ganneau has suggested that the curious bend in the Siloam tunnel was designed to avoid these sepulchers, but Ezekiel's statement in regard to the nearness of the tombs to the Temple indicates a more northerly location. The course of the Siloam tunnel was probably due to a desire to keep near the surface of the ground, so that the workmen could inform themselves by shafts as to their whereabouts. Josephus states that the Sepulcher of David was opened and plundered by Hyrcanus (*Ant.*, xiii, 8:4; *Wars*, i, 2:5), and that Herod also opened the tomb and gained additional plunder (*Ant.*, xvi, 7:1). The Tomb of David is also

mentioned in Acts 2:29; but from none of these passages do we gain any light as to its precise location.

7. *David's Aqueducts*.—The only other constructions that can be traced back as far as the time of David are two channels for water that lead from the spring of Gihon. The first of these is a canal on the surface of the ground outside of the city wall, above the Valley of Kidron, that originally conducted the water of the spring to the Lower Pool of Siloam at the mouth of the Tyropoeon Valley. This channel must be older than the tunnel which Hezekiah constructed to bring water into the city, inasmuch as the tunnel was a substitute for it. Isa. 22:9 speaks of the Old Pool as in existence before Hezekiah's time, and by this doubtless means the Lower Pool of Siloam to which this aqueduct led.

Another channel cut in the rock leads to a well and subterranean passage opening inside of the city wall. This must be later than the channel outside of the city, since it was evidently designed as a substitute for it in time of siege. It must be older than Hezekiah's tunnel, since this is a more elaborate carrying-out of the same idea. Both the surface channel and the short tunnel are probably as old as the time of David, and may go back to the period of Canaanitish occupation. It has even been suggested that the "gutter" or "water-course" (II Sam. 5:8), through which Joab made his entrance into the stronghold was the passage leading to the short tunnel.

In regard to the extent of Jerusalem in the time of David we are in the same doubt that we are in regard to the extent of the Canaanitish city. The City of David, or Zion, certainly lay upon the eastern hill; but whether Jerusalem extended beyond this hill is uncertain. If the city of the Canaanites reached over to the western hill, then the Jerusalem of David was probably equally extensive. Even if the city of the Canaanites was limited to the eastern hill, it is possible that in the time of David Jerusalem began to expand. From II Sam. 5:6 f.; 24:18 f., it appears that David spared the lives of the Jebusites when he captured their stronghold, and that they remained settled in Jerusalem. Since he made the stronghold his residence and garrisoned it with Israelitish troops, it is not likely that the Jebusites were permitted to remain on the eastern hill. Probably, therefore, they were compelled to settle on the western hill. To this cir-

cumstance may be due the name "Cliff of the Jebusites" which, according to Josh. 15:8 and 18:6, lay north of the Valley of Hinnom. The threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, according to II Sam. 24:16, was the place where David saw the angel stand with his hand stretched forth toward Jerusalem to destroy it. The description suggests that the apparition appeared on the western hill over against the eastern hill where David's palace was located. Only in Chronicles is it stated that the threshing-floor of Araunah was the place on which the Temple was subsequently built, and this conception is evidently due to a desire to legitimize the site of the Temple.

II Sam. 14:28 states that Absalom dwelt two full years in Jerusalem and saw not the king's face. If the Jerusalem of David was limited to the small area of the southeast hill, it is difficult to see how Absalom could reside there without coming into contact with his father. If, however, the city extended to the western hill, he might be banished from the palace quarter and still reside in the capital. I Chron. 11:8 adds to the statement of II Sam. 5:9, that "David built round about from Millo," the words: "and Joab caused the rest of the city to live." This indicates belief on the part of the Chronicler that Jerusalem in the time of David was more extensive than the City of David. Josephus (*Wars*, v, 4:1) states that the Upper City was taken by David as well as the Lower City, and that it was called by him the *Phrourion*, or "fortress." On the whole, the evidence seems favorable to the idea that settlements on the western hill were in existence as early as the time of David, but there is no evidence that the western hill was inclosed with a wall at this early date. The fact that no buildings on the western hill are mentioned indicates that this region was still unprotected.

SOCIAL DUTIES

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CHAPTER IV. SOCIAL DUTIES IN RELATION TO FOOD AND DRINK

“Whether ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God” (I Cor. 10:31); “Or know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have from God? . . . glorify God therefore in your body” (I Cor. 6:19, 20). We assume in this discussion that the biblical teaching in respect to the body is familiar even from childhood. We proceed at once to outline topics for a discussion which may lead to clearer knowledge of what our duty is in respect to the treatment of the body. The information must be sought by consulting physicians, and books on anatomy, hygiene, and sanitation, some of which are mentioned at the close of this article.

1. THE INFLUENCE OF THE BODY AND THE SPIRIT UPON EACH OTHER.—The body affects the spirit, and, in turn, the state of the mind affects the health. Jesus healed the body as part of his redeeming work. Gluttony depresses the soul, weakens moral courage, excites animal passions, produces diseases, so reduces usefulness and efficiency and shortens life. Bad physical habits in parents cause their children to inherit their weakness and faults. On the other hand, insufficient and improper food injures the body and impairs the spiritual forces and character. A few persons overcome feeble health by strong effort, but weakness of the physical side of our nature easily passes over into the soul. We do not know exactly the connection between these two sides of our being, but the fact that they influence each other is known by all. Upright judges, after a dinner which is not digested, have been tempted to throw the scales of justice out of balance. Preachers in ill-health, or imperfectly fed, show it in peevish, whining, or scolding sermons. Toothache makes bad temper. Rheumatism cripples a good man in the race for the prize

of righteous living. Ague chills the ardor of devotion. Neuralgia unfits for social fellowship. Many diseases are due to unscientific feeding. These facts show that food, which is absolutely essential to life, is also an important factor in right living. No man can put forth more energy in song or prayer or charitable labor than he gets from food consumed and assimilated. It is our duty each day to have just as much force as we can possibly get out of what we eat, and then to direct that force according to the laws of social well-being, the law of love to God and man.¹

2. THE NECESSITY OF EDUCATION IN REFERENCE TO FOOD AND DRINK.—It is the duty which each person owes to society to acquire all possible knowledge of food and drink, and it is our duty as members of state and nation to use the powers of government to educate all citizens in this matter, and to protect the people against fraud, adulteration, and poison.

a) What is the use of food and drink? The purpose of taking food and drink is to build up the structure of bones, nerves, muscles, and all tissues of the body; to repair the waste of the system which goes on constantly; and to produce energy which may go out in the activities of life. If men were to stop consuming food, all the institutions of society would soon fall into ruin with the utter destruction of all life. Religion itself would disappear from the world more effectually than by the murder of all believers. Saints turn nutrition into prayers as wicked men transform it into curses.

b) What are the essential elements of food and drink? The authorities tell us that three kinds of organic materials are necessary to health and life: proteids, fats, and carbohydrates, with certain acids, and also inorganic materials, including water and mineral salts. The proteids are composed of various chemical elements, are found

¹"Every man has lain on his own trencher."

"Men dig their graves with their own knives and forks."

"Public men are dying, not of overwork, but of their dinners" (Mrs. Ellen H. Richards).

"The seat of courage is the stomach" (Frederick the Great).

"We are fed, not to be fed, but to work."

"Courage, cheerfulness, and a desire to work depend mostly on good nutrition" (Moleschott).

"The destiny of nations depends on how they are fed."

—Quotations from Lake Placid Conference on Home Economics, 1905.

in both vegetables and meats, and are necessary to life, while if taken in excess they produce disorders of many kinds. Fats consist of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen; nitrogen is supplied by the proteids. The carbohydrates include starch, sugar, and cellulose. Some of the salts needed are sodium, potassium chlorides, potassium, magnesium, calcium phosphates, and compounds of iron.

c) Quantity of food and drink required.

For the maintenance of a proper degree of health and strength the individual must ingest an amount of food sufficient to meet the daily loss of nitrogen and carbon. This must necessarily vary according to circumstances, and hence no rule can be laid down to fit all cases. The best that can be done is to make general rules based on the amount of work performed; for the greater the amount of work done, the greater the amount of food required to meet the necessary consumption of fuel and to replace the tissues. . . . It has been estimated by Voit . . . that a man weighing 70 to 75 kilos (154 to 165 pounds), and working at moderately hard labor 9 to 10 hours a day, requires 118 grams of proteids, 56 of fat, and 500 of carbohydrates (Harrington).

Some later writers² think that the amount of proteids may be considerably reduced with advantage to health. The measure used is called a calorie, which means the amount of heat necessary to raise the temperature of 1 kilogram of water, 1 degree centigrade, and this energy is able to lift 425.5 kilograms one meter. Voit thought that it was necessary for a man at work according to his standard to consume food enough to create 3,054.6 calories in a day. Beginning with this measurement, scientific students are working out the quantities necessary for all classes of persons—infants, boys and girls, women, and persons in all occupations and circumstances of climate, age, health, weight, etc. These interesting studies will result in great economy of food and in improved health. But it would be impracticable and undesirable to weigh viands every time we eat, and this is unnecessary. Nature will aid in finding the limit of quantity by the indications of appetite, though this is not infallible and may be morbid. It has been found, as by Gladstone, that by very thorough mastication of food one is satisfied with a smaller quantity and at the same time is more perfectly nourished.

Food must be agreeable and varied in order to perform its task; and the pleasures of the table aid digestion. The satisfaction of

² R. H. Chittenden, *Physiological Economy in Nutrition* (1904).

food is part of nature's way of assuring the perpetuation of life and of all that should go with life. Further details must be sought in the books cited, or in others equally reliable.

3. **ALCOHOLIC DRINKS.**—It is in connection with this subject that we come upon the use and abuse of alcoholic drinks. Fluids are necessary to health, and agreeable drinks have direct value in connection with foods. The danger of drinking intoxicating fluids has been made familiar in the temperance campaigns of the past generation, although with much ignorance and exaggeration. A few maxims may be sufficient to start discussion in the right direction. If alcoholic fluids are required for health, they should be prescribed by a reputable physician, just as quinine, strychnine, and arsenic are prescribed. Alcohol is a powerful remedy, and even in its diluted forms lurk perils to health and character. Very few persons actually need alcohol in any form, since thousands of men have done hard work and accomplished the highest results in all occupations and all climates without such stimulants. Ordinary food supplies all the alcohol that is really necessary, except in disease or, perhaps, old age. All the nutritive value that is in alcoholic drinks can be bought at much less expense in foods which are not dangerous.

4. **SOCIAL CUSTOMS.**—Banquets and feasts must be judged by their effects on health and their cost in waste. Not only in commercial, political, and fashionable circles do people sin against the canons of hygiene and economy, but even in church meetings, both in country and city, gluttony and waste are not unknown. "Tell it not in Gath." While hundreds of thousands of children go hungry to bed, the waste of food cries out to heavenly pity and justice. The miserable falsehood that the waste of rich men is the good fortune of the poor, by increasing trade, has caused many a death—death by surfeit and death by starvation.

5. **ADULTERATION OF FOOD AND MEDICINE.**—Commerce and trade deal out food and drink, and they must be brought under the rule of moral principles. From ancient times complaints have not ceased in respect to short weights and measures. The temptation is ever present in each of billions of sales to get pay for a pound when only fifteen ounces are delivered. The thrifty housewife keeps in the kitchen her own scales, but it is a shame she must do so.

Adulteration of food has become a subject of discussion all over the civilized world. By investigations carried on by private parties, and then by governments of nation and city, the extent of this wrong has been made public. Setting aside the exaggerations and misrepresentations of sensational writers, we have left in the official reports and in the confessions of meat-packers, wholesale grocers, retail dealers, and disclosures of boards of health, a picture of unscrupulous neglect, combined with ignorance and recklessness of human life, which is humiliating and discouraging. Nor are merchants alone guilty, for the "honest farmer," guileless and simple, has been known to ship his hogs and cattle to market as quickly as possible when he found them threatened with some disease which might soon carry them off.

How can social righteousness become effective? Some tell us by individual honesty, by preaching the gospel, and by conversion of sinners. All this is right; but even converted men need to be taught their duty by the law, since many of them think the parson and Sunday-school teacher are not familiar with business. Some adulterators of food stand high among friends of missions. They never think they are doing wrong until they are threatened with exposure by a government inspector. The interest of the individual will not protect the common interest; the community must protect the public welfare by law. Self-interest needs both enlightenment and punishment to make it serve the public. The public must have scientific and upright inspectors wherever food is prepared, whether on ranch and farm or in packing-houses, storage warehouses, or grocery stores. In this connection it might be well for the class to make an inspection of the places in which the animal food of the town or village is prepared; they are likely to find things in the slaughter-house which will remind them of the Chicago and Kansas City scandals.

The pure food laws recently enacted by Congress to regulate interstate commerce in foods, and the improvement in methods of inspecting the preparation of meats, are examples of the value of appeals to government against private neglect or greed of gain. It is hoped that not only will these kinds of business find a better market in all civilized lands, but that at home we shall have more just weights and purer diet. Incidentally the great merchants themselves will be

made better men. The magistrate and President are ministers of God for this very thing, just as truly as pastors and deacons.

Patent medicines, only too frequently advertised in religious papers, through ignorance and neglect of careful inquiry, have become one of the more important causes of inebriety. Persons are induced by these advertisements to swallow stuff recommended by ministers of the gospel, who of course never made chemical analysis of the contents; and since it makes them "feel good" for a time, they imagine they are cured by it. Meantime some form the habit of depending on dangerous stimulants. Many medicines, as soothing syrups, contain opium, and the druggist does not always give notice to mothers who ignorantly drug their children to death. There is a long series of these immoral practices which might be brought out in many communities with the help of honest druggists and physicians.

6. THE DUTY OF SOCIETY TO THE IGNORANT AND THE YOUNG.—Social duty must not ignore the poor and the ignorant in all our towns who perish from hunger, or become feeble and pauperized from food unsuitable in kind or improperly cooked. Food is at the basis of civilization, and cooking is an art which ought to be taught everywhere in schools. Private philanthropy and individual effort will never be able to train the hundreds of thousands of girls and young women for household duties.

The duties of society in relation to drinking customs should be taught in public schools as a natural part of the study of human anatomy, physiology, and hygiene. This should not be done in special hours and classes. There is much complaint among both scientific men and teachers of high rank that the books used in some states are not accurate and reliable, and that the method of instruction required by law is frequently monotonous and repetitious. Want of accuracy and interest in method of teaching will destroy all the good influence of such instruction and cause a reaction against the whole movement.

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TOPICS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION AND DISCUSSION

1. Members of the class who know of adulteration of food and drugs can report.
2. See if improper advertisements of patent medicines are found in secular and religious newspapers, and discuss facts discovered.
3. What is gluttony? When does a man come under the influence of alcohol enough to be "drunk?" Is intoxication the worst evil of using alcohol?
4. What are some of the inherited effects of gluttony and use of alcohol?
5. Analyze the Pure Food Law of Congress.
6. What are the duties of health officers of state and city in your own community?
7. Why cannot the regulation of food and drink be left to individuals? Why is law necessary?



HEAD OF CHRIST

THE MESSAGE OF THE RELIGION OF EGYPT

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It is probable that the religious vagaries, fads, and *isms* now rampant in our own and other lands would find much less congenial soil in which to flourish if it were possible for the people at large to know more of the historical course of our own and of other religions. Even the oldest of religions, both in their successes and in their failures, present experiences which are instructive and helpful. The career of the religion of Egypt offers some striking analogies to that of Christianity, and at Alexandria indeed, probably contributed directly to its doctrinal development. Within the limits of this discussion it would of course be impossible to offer a systematic outline of Egyptian religious beliefs, and then to take up those of significance to modern Christians. We can only indicate in a general way the character of the Egyptian religion, and then proceed to take up in succession the two great phases of its career which are most instructive for Christian believers of today. Even in this process many significant details must be passed over.

As earliest Egypt emerges from prehistoric darkness, about 3500 B. C., we first discern its numerous local gods, each town serving its chief divinity foremost among a number of other lesser local gods. Gradually trade, war, and ultimate political unity bring these groups of local gods larger jurisdiction, and force the priesthoods to correlate them, if not in the actual service of the local cult, at least in the current stories of the gods, out of which an early theology grows. But there was as yet, and for long afterward, no conception of a universal divine government, and hence no notion of a universal divine governor. It was a polytheism of innumerable gods. Their worship was individual rather than social, and had little, if any, ethical influence on the life of the worshiper! Prayer was but the repetition of a magical formulary. As Egypt herself, in the sixteenth century, B. C., expanded and gained world-wide dominion, the world-idea, as exemplified in the Pharaoh's wide sway, slowly took form. Moreover, the

Pharaoh was in his conquests only extending the dominion of the state god, Amon. It was thus but a step from the world-idea to the world-god—a step which led to the earliest known monotheism, about 1400 B. C. It is unquestionably the most remarkable of earlier oriental religious movements. This development, which consumed something like two thousand years, later finds such striking illustration in the course of Hebrew religion that we might well devote the remainder of our space to its consideration. It remained, however, chiefly a theological and sacerdotal development, of meager, ethical content, and perhaps we may with greater profit pass to a more personal aspect of this ancient religion. In leaving it, however, one remark regarding it should be made, in order to bring out a fundamental characteristic of value to us of today. As the Egyptian extended his world he put his god into the newly acquired territory. As his world grew, his god grew with it. In a not less material sense than with the Egyptian, is our world growing today. As progress in natural science daily enlarges our horizon, we find it increasingly difficult to see more than mere matter in these new regions. In thus enlarging his world, does the religious man of today likewise enlarge, as he might, his vision of God?

Early in their career the people of Egypt found in the story of Osiris an irresistible attraction. It told how he had ruled as a good and beloved king in the Nile valley, only to be slain by his wicked brother, Set. Then his faithful queen, Isis, sought everywhere the mutilated fragments of her lord's body. In the distant morasses of the Delta she gathered them at last, and embalmed the body; and such was the virtue of the potent words which she pronounced over them, that breath returned to them. But the good king, thus recalled to life, passed on to rule over the realms of the departed. In the far-off marshes Isis bore a son, Horus, to avenge the foul death of his father and to reign in his stead. It is plain that the higher moral and ethical instincts of a race are finding expression in this tale. The imperishable, though perhaps unconscious desire that the good may triumph breathes through it. The tale found its way into every household in Egypt, until Osiris, from being the merely local divinity of Dedu, a city of the Delta, was revered throughout Egypt. As far back as 2000 B. C., in the Abrahamic age, the incidents of the

Osirian tale or myth had been put into dramatic form, in a "passion-play," presenting the life, death, burial and resurrection of the good king. The annual festival of its presentation at Abydos lasted many days and the people not only witnessed it, but even participated in some of the incidents, like the funeral procession of the departed god. This oldest-known drama has perished, but a record of its presentation has survived on the mortuary tablet of an official found at Abydos and now preserved in the Museum of Berlin,¹ and other references to it are not infrequent. The influence of such presentations as these in the spread of Osiris worship must have been incalculable, and not less impressive to the people of that age than the passion-plays of mediaeval Europe and later. By them the essentially individual religion of Egypt became also social—a remarkable phenomenon at this time. Among the incidents enacted was the procession bearing the god's body to his tomb for burial. It was but natural that this custom should finally result in identifying as the original tomb of Osiris, the place on the desert behind Abydos, which in this scene served as the tomb. Thus the already ancient tomb of King Zer of the First Dynasty, who had ruled more than a thousand years before, was in the Twelfth Dynasty (2000 B. C.) already regarded as the tomb of Osiris. As veneration for the spot increased, it became a veritable "holy sepulchre", and Abydos gained a sanctity enjoyed by no other place in Egypt. All this wrought powerfully upon the people. They came in pilgrimage to the place, and the ancient tomb of Zer was buried deep beneath a mountain of jars containing the votive offerings which they brought. If possible, the Egyptian was now buried at Abydos within the wall which inclosed the god's temple. From the grand vizier himself, down to the humblest cobbler, we find the people crowding this most sacred cemetery of Egypt. Where burial there was impossible the embalmed dead might at least be carried thither to associate for a time with the great god and to participate in his ceremonies, after which they were brought back and interred at home. The masses, to whom even this was impossible, erected memorial tablets there for themselves and their relatives, calling upon the god in prayer and praise to remember them in the hereafter.

¹ See the author's *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, §§ 661-69.

Osiris thus rapidly became the type of the departed dead; all might share in his destiny; at last every one might become an Osiris. To the multitudes assembled to witness his life, his death, and his final triumph over it, the priests whispered that they possessed the potent words used by Isis, and that their magic virtue might free all from the thrall of death. They said of the dead man: "As Osiris lives, so shall he also live; as Osiris died not, so shall he also not die; as Osiris perished not, so shall he also not perish." Or they said of the departed: "They depart not as those who are dead, but they depart as those who are living." With *many* it was sufficient to purchase from the priests such magic words (later a part of the Book of the Dead) and carry them to the grave, trusting in their potency to recall the lifeless body to its old powers. With others this was not enough. Already as far back as predynastic days, (thirty-fifth century B. C.), there are meager, though conclusive, evidences that the life hereafter was believed to depend in some slight degree upon the ethical character of the life on earth. These are the earliest known traces in the life of man of an ethical requirement conditioning his future state. This conviction strengthened as time passed.² Fifteen hundred years later—that is, by 2000 B. C.—the best men believed that in order to share the destiny of the good Osiris, and to shake off death as he had done, it was necessary to have led the blameless life which he had lived. Osiris was himself the great judge. Into his presence the dead man was led, that his heart might be weighed in the dreaded balances over against the symbol of truth, while he pleaded "not guilty" to forty-two different sins. These sins may be summed up as murder, stealing, especially robbing minors, lying, deceit, false witness, and slander, reviling, eavesdropping, sexual impurity, adultery, and trespass against the gods or the dead, as in blasphemy or the stealing of mortuary offerings. The ethical standard was not less high than in the Decalogue. Moreover, in this judgment the Egyptian introduced for the first time in the history of man the fully developed idea that the future destiny of the dead must be dependent entirely upon the ethical quality of the earthly life, the idea of future accountability—of which we found the germs fifteen hundred years earlier. The whole conception is notable; for a thousand years or

² See the examples in the author's *History of Egypt*, pp. 65, 66.

more after this no such idea was known among other peoples; and in Babylonia and Israel good and bad alike descended together at death into gloomy Sheol, where no distinction was made between them.

In the history of Egyptian religion the most noticeable external phenomenon is the rise, increase, and ultimate power of the priestly class. At this point, therefore, as we have intimated above, there enter into the Osirian faith those intermediary sacerdotal devices which have so often been the slow destruction of individual character and ethical worth. The same magic which endued the mysterious words of Isis with such power was now introduced by the priests into the judgment. They furnished a scarabaeus, or sacred beetle, cut from stone, and inscribed with a charm beginning with the significant words: "O my heart, rise not up against me as a witness." So powerful is this cunning invention, when laid upon the breast of the mummy under the wrappings, that when the guilty soul stands in the judgment-hall in the awful presence of Osiris, the accusing voice of the heart is silenced, and the great god does not perceive the evil of which it would testify. The priests furnished also a roll of papyrus bearing the famous pleas, accompanied by words of power that should make them effective, no matter what the life of the deceased had been. However bad the character of an evil man, he might count upon these words as infallibly operative in securing the unqualified acceptance of his plea by Osiris. The balances might be influenced in the same way. The judgment scene was depicted in a sketch or vignette showing the balances bearing the feather, the symbol of truth, and the heart of the dead man. Written at the top are the words of acquittal uttered by Thoth, the god of letters, who presides over the weighing: "Give back his heart; the balances are satisfied with the heart of ——" (the deceased's name). The blank in which the name of the deceased was afterward inserted does not affect the verdict of the balances. "Blank" was declared just, and the balances were "satisfied" with his heart before it was known who "blank" would be. Such rolls, then, were prepared by the priests and sold to any buyer, who might then rest secure that as soon as his name was inserted in the blanks he would be acquitted in the great judgment by the magic efficiency of the acquittal depicted and recorded

in his roll. Without concern for the future reckoning, he might go on leading a life of vice. The moral aspirations which had come into the religion of Egypt with the ethical influences so potent in the Osiris myth, were now choked and poisoned by the assurance, that, however vicious a man's life, exemption in the hereafter could now be purchased at any time from the priests. In practical effect the sale of such rolls was identical with that of the sale of indulgences by Tetzel and his agents. Both devices failed from the fact that the penalty does not come from without, but operates within the offender. Neither perceived the ethical worthlessness of a forgiveness effected by influences external to the life and character of the guilty. Their common idea of forgiveness is that of *escape*, and this not from the fatal *inner* consequences of evil conduct, but solely from *external* penalty. Nor does the magic roll of the Egyptian find its analogy solely in the sale of papal indulgences. The mechanical conception of the atonement still surviving here and there among us, is not essentially different, in so far as it attributes the merits of a redemptive act to the lives of those who had no share in it, and whom it cost nothing. It brings them exemption by an act entirely external to their lives, and it reduces the ministry of Jesus' death to a level little higher than the magical roll of the Egyptian. One of the most useful lessons of this Osirian faith is its illustration, as a historical fact, of the danger of such forensic views of the relations between God and man.

The strength of Osirian religion, however, lay in the human character of the incidents that make up the story. Many, if not most, of the incidents in it might have happened in the life of any man of that distant day. Its human appeal was so strong that it became the dominant faith of Egypt. And, in spite of the ethical weakening which sacerdotalism had effected, it still went on to exert profound ethical influence in the life of Egypt. It is more than likely that the personal relations from now on occasionally discernible between the worshiper and his god are due to the influence of the Osirian faith, or went forth from it. Man now prays: "Punish me not for my many sins;" or again: "Amon-Re, I love thee, and I have enfolded thee in my heart," yet the way to God is not in speech, and the wise man prays: "O thou sweet Well for the thirsty in the desert! It is

closed up for him who speaks, but it is open for him who keeps silence. When he who keeps silence comes, lo, he finds the Well." When Egypt was finally submerged in the great world of Mediterranean powers, it was the Osirian faith which appealed to her foreign lords. Exalted and spiritualized as Osiris-Isis worship, it was reorganized by the first Ptolemy (305-285 B. C.) and spread from the Persian cities of the east to the Pillars of Hercules on the west, and from Sicily and Campania northward to the Danube. It followed Roman power practically as far as it went, and the symbols of Osiris-Isis worship are picked up today on almost every Roman *limes*. The drama of Osiris and Isis went with it, as the "Mysteries of Isis." Especially her lamentation for the dead Osiris and the rejoicing at his resurrection were annually re-enacted at the Osirian Easter festival. The mysteries of initiation to membership among the "Servants of Isis" carried the novitiate to the gates of death and then brought him back by impressive stages to the portals of light and life again. "Renunciation of past life, and a second birth to a new and purified existence, were the main ideas underlying the ceremonies." Now, all this was current throughout the classic world several centuries before the birth of Christianity. Nor could the Roman government suppress it. The temple of Isis at Rome was three times destroyed by order of the legal authorities; but finally the triumvirs themselves built a temple of Osiris and Isis there in 44 B. C. A generation later the official calendar of public festivals at Rome contains that of Osiris and Isis. In 105 B. C., their temple was already in existence at Puteoli, and at about the same time also in Pompeii. There is little reason to doubt that most such provincial cities possessed a temple of Osiris and Isis. At Pompeii there is interesting evidence that in numbers Isis-worshippers were not to be despised. An election notice on one of the walls reads: *Cn. Helvium Sabinum aed[ilem] Isiaci universi rog[ant]*—"The Isis-worshippers unanimously request the election of Gnaeus Helvius Sabinus as aedile."³

It will be seen, therefore, that a faith possessing elements strikingly similar to Christianity had been in the field for centuries before the rise of the latter faith. There can be no doubt that the early Christianization of Egypt was chiefly due to the ease with which the wor-

³ Man, *Pompeii*, p. 488.

shiper of Osiris could apprehend the similar incidents in the story of Jesus. How far this may also be true in other parts of the Roman Empire it will doubtless never be possible to determine. The ultimate triumph of Christianity over even so exalted and firmly established a faith as that of Osiris-Isis in Graeco-Roman times may, however, serve for us of today as another historical illustration of the supreme fitness of the religion of Jesus to meet human needs.



HEAD OF DAVID

A FORGOTTEN FACTOR OF REVELATION

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The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says: "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son." That God has spoken unto men in his Son all Christians admit. But that God has spoken to men *πολυμερῶς*, "in manifold ways," and *πολυτρόπως*, "in many modes," some doubt and some deny. They forget, apparently, that all language is symbolic, and consists of sounds or signs, which appeal to the ear or the eye or the touch, and which are interpreted by the spirit which dwells beneath the physical sense.

The Scriptures clearly affirm that "God has spoken" to men and made himself known. In his self-revelation God condescended to use the means and methods adapted at every stage to the customs and conceptions of men, even to the extent of making the invisible, divine nature visible in the person of a Son in whose tears and tones and touch men saw and felt the tenderness and throb and thrill of the infinite love of God.

Accepting the fact that "God hath spoken" to men, we must recognize the underlying fact that any revelation of God must condescend to the nature and conform to the mental conceptions of man at the period when the revelation is given. This, to a large extent, is a forgotten factor of revelation. But in all teaching whereby what lies in the mind of one person is revealed or communicated to the mind of another person, the method of communication is determined, not by the character and knowledge and greatness of the teacher, but by the character and ignorance and need of the pupil. This is a primal principle of pedagogy. Every teacher of science or mathematics or music or morals must use a language and must choose illustrations familiar to the mind of the pupil. Music could never be revealed or made intelligible to an unmusical nature, and God could never be

revealed to an unspiritual man; but the method of revelation and of instruction in each case is determined, not by the higher nature of the teacher or of God, but by the lower nature of the pupil or of man. This fact is abundantly recognized in the Scriptures. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, to whom the gospel had come while they were filled with their Greek conceptions, and said of his method: "Brethren, I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual but as unto carnal, as unto babes in Christ. I fed you with milk, not with meat; for ye were not able to bear it." It was their carnality which limited the spirituality of his teachings and made it necessary for him to give them the milk of the gospel, and to illustrate it by quotations from their own poets and by resemblances in their own national games. Jesus spoke to the multitudes in parables, because they having eyes saw not and having ears heard not the inner spiritual truth of the kingdom of heaven. They could see only the semblances of the truth in the material and social forms in which Jesus portrayed it in the pictures of his parables. Jesus interpreted certain parables to the disciples, because to them he could say: "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries, the spiritual facts themselves of the kingdom of heaven." And he added: "Blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear." By this he meant that their inner eye saw and their inner ear heard the actual things of the kingdom of heaven. But even to these disciples, who constituted the senior class in divine knowledge, Jesus said: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." Their spiritual weakness limited both the amount and the quality of his revelation. Jesus, in commenting upon the teachings of the past, said that Moses suffered men to put away their wives because of the hardness of their hearts. That is to say, the conceptions and the customs of their times made it impossible for Moses to enact a law of marriage coincident with the divine ideal. Because of the morals of his times, Moses could enact a law which would eliminate only the grosser evils and secure relative justice. It is noticeable, in all these cases, that the form of moral legislation and the method of revealing spiritual truth were determined by the morals and the spiritual conceptions of the times. Because of this essential principle of revelation, God gave men a "law having a shadow of good things to come, not the very

image of the things." For this reason, God finally spoke "in his Son," who is "the effulgence of his glory and the very image of his substance." And so complete is this final revelation that Jesus has said: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father."

This principle of revelation has an important bearing on the interpretation of biblical history and the use of religious ritual. There are two extreme classes; namely, those who claim that what was once a method of divine revelation or a useful religious ritual should always be a method of revelation or a useful ritual, and, on the other hand, there are those who claim that what is not now a method of revelation or a useful ritual could never have been such method or such ritual. To the former class belong such as the Christian Jews of the first century, who held that, unless the Gentiles kept the law of Moses, they could not be saved; and also such as now claim that, if "Jesus was approved of God by mighty works and wonders and signs which God did by him" then, his disciples and ministers ought now to be so approved. To the latter class belong such as think that a ritual which has no value now—such as circumcision or sacrifice—could never have had divine sanction or have rendered special service; and also such as claim that, if God does not now work signs and wonders in America, he did not work "signs and wonders in the land of Egypt." The former class demand physical manifestations of divine power now, and stand ready to regard the wonder-workers who may heal disease—as apparently some do—as accredited religious teachers. The latter class demand only moral manifestations of spiritual power, and tend to doubt or deny what is called the miraculous element in the biblical record. For instance, the early settlers of New Haven, Connecticut, had so little conception of any progressive element in divine revelation that, omitting simply the ceremonial law of Israel, they attempted to establish, morally, a sort of Hebrew colony, and enacted laws giving chapter and verse from the Pentateuch as their divine sanction. Some of the descendants of these settlers have apparently so little conception of the progressive method of revelation determined by the needs of men that they doubt or deny the divine element in the ancient biblical record and regard Old Testament history as a hindrance to Christianity.

Spiritual truth is likely to lie between extreme views. Both classes

mentioned above ignore the primal principle of pedagogy which is recognized throughout the Scriptures.

Israel was not an isolated people to be studied alone, as men once thought, but part of the Semitic race. Their conceptions and customs, as we now know from Assyrian and Babylonian records which have been exhumed, were similar to the conceptions and customs of kindred people. To the Assyrians, for instance, "their enemies were the enemies of Asshur," and "all wars and cruelties were ascribed to his command." The laws of Hammurabi have much in common with the laws of Moses. These facts should be borne in mind.

The Israelites were a religious, imaginative, dramatic people. If a thunderstorm occurred during a battle and the enemy was defeated, they ascribed it to divine interposition on their behalf. If an unusual dream occurred, they gave it special significance. If they experienced exceptional joy or grief, they expressed it in dramatic action. Their prophets taught in parables—like the story of the pet lamb which Nathan told to David. They illustrated and enforced their teachings by dramatic action. "Zedekiah made him horns of iron, and said, Thus saith Jehovah, With these shalt thou push the Syrians until they be consumed." "Ahijah rent his garment in twelve pieces, and said to Jereboam, Take thee ten pieces, for thus saith Jehovah, Behold I will rend the kingdom out of the hand of Solomon, and will give ten tribes to thee." Ezekiel set an iron pan as a wall of a city and lay on his side before it to show a state of siege of Jerusalem.

Given such a people, if God were to reveal himself at all, what is more natural than that he should reveal himself through such external methods as would arrest their attention and through such intellectual concepts on their part as would make known his will. God himself, in his essence, could not be revealed or perceived. What they saw, at last, through all signs of whatever nature, was holiness, power, justice, mercy, grace; and these were the qualities which, at length, gave to them Jehovah.

On a beautiful Sunday in March, a few years since, I sat on the veranda of a hotel, once a palace of the khedive of Egypt, on the west bank of the Nile opposite Cairo. The veranda overlooked the gardens of the palace. Into these grounds came a strolling magician and stopped in front of the veranda. He had a small donkey, a large

monkey, and a great snake which he carried in a leather pouch. After various performances he took the snake and breathed into its mouth, and immediately the snake stiffened, stretched itself to its extreme length, and became rigid like a rod. Later the magician took the snake by the tail and it grew lax, recovered its flexible movements, and became a live snake again. Here evidently was a descendant of Jannes who withstood Moses, and who has succeeded to the knowledge and skill which gave the old magicians their power over the people. Into the details of "the signs and wonders wrought in Egypt" I do not propose to enter. Many a western man of scientific habit of mind would look for secondary or natural causes whereby to account for them. It may be well, however, to recall the fact that to the man who believes in God, back of all so-called natural causes is the supreme cause which is the divine will. Whether an event happens at a given time as a coincidence or by immediate divine volition, it may work his will and make himself known. Personally, I have no difficulty in believing in miracles when the end justifies them. If any man can satisfactorily explain them as coincidences, that will not eliminate their value to the people who regarded them as direct results of the divine will. The magician of the present has been introduced simply to call attention to this fact. Given a people under the hallucination of magic, a people who believed that the magician held communication with the world of spirits, a people who regarded the wonder-worker as an accredited teacher of the divine will; how could a man like Moses break the bondage of such superstition, deliver men from such error and awaken faith in Jehovah, his God, better than by such a course of procedure as would show greater works and compel the people to exclaim: "This is the finger of God?" If it should be said that this is to place Moses on a level with the magicians, it will be sufficient to observe that, if Moses had stopped with "signs," if he had no higher power and no better truth for men, this would be true. But, if the use of "signs" served to arrest attention, to secure a hearing, to discountenance the methods and the theology of the magicians, and, finally, to lead to a worship which was divorced from idolatry and to a law of truth justified by moral results, then the end justified the means. "The plagues of Egypt" led Israel to accept Moses as a divinely appointed teacher,

and to believe in the presence, power, and purpose of Jehovah respecting them. And what is true here is true, generally, of the biblical history. After all due allowance is made for the interpretation of past events by the conceptions of the writers of the biblical records, it is impossible to deny their claim that God spoke to men in times past in many ways determined by their needs, to which, in his merciful and gracious revelation of himself, he conformed. To deny to God the freedom and the power to speak to men, through nature as well as through mind, "out of the whirlwind" and in "the flame," by "vision" and by "voice," by physical manifestation and by spiritual inspiration is to deny to God, so it seems, the freedom and the power which belongs to man, who, without destroying a single physical law, is continually interposing in nature to make those laws combine to work his will, and who, without laying aside his dignity as a father, is continually humbling himself in action and in speech to teach his child.

A modern man of scientific habit of thought, and without any Bible or knowledge of one, standing alone amid the silence and the sublimity of some lofty mountain, might be impressed by the power which has produced it and might descend to speak reverently of the invisible power which, existing prior to the mountains, had brought them forth; and his message would have both meaning and worth. But that ancient, unscientific man, Moses, who stood alone amid the silence and the sublimities of the mountains until he saw a vision and heard a voice (how? who can tell?) and who came down from the mountain to proclaim his message—"The name of Jehovah," "A God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abundant in loving-kindness and truth, keeping loving-kindness for thousands, forgiving iniquity; and transgressing and sin"—received a revelation of God and gave to men a message sorely needed by the sinning, sorrowing, suffering sons of men.

The prophets were men of like passions with other men and beset by limitations. But, by physical phenomena commonly regarded as miraculous, by psychological experiences described as visions and ecstasies, they received and uttered truth concerning God. And this plain and historic truth must be recognized that, beginning as part of the Semitic people, Israel became differentiated, and, though subject to

kindred customs, out of the spiritual impressions which came through physical phenomena and the teachings of the prophets, their conception of God clarified until Jehovah became superior, supreme, the sole Deity whom they knew through the revelation of his attributes of holiness, power, justice, mercy, and truth. Their ceremonies have no value for modern times, and their history—apart from its religious import—is of little worth; but the truth concerning God which they made known is dear to the hearts of men, and the world would be loath to lose it. The “wisdom literature” may not be much read by the multitudes, but the psalms of Israel, like the waves of the universal sea which break on every shore, speak to the hearts of men in all lands.

Jesus recognized the necessity of conforming to the needs of men in his methods of teaching. He would be a bold man who would deny, or an audacious man who would seek to explain, the works of Jesus as he healed and helped the people. Jesus said to the Jews: “Though ye believe not me, believe the works: that ye may know and understand that the Father is in me.” Jesus said to the messengers from the Baptist: “Go and tell John the things which ye hear and see: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear.” That the men who gathered at the door in Capernaum might “know that the Son of man hath authority on earth to forgive sins, he saith to the sick of the palsy, Arise and take up thy bed and walk.”

But to those who had received the lower revelations through “signs,” and to whom the higher revelation of spiritual righteousness ought to have been apparent, but who turned from it still demanding a “sign from heaven,” Jesus turned away saying: “A wicked and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign.” Jesus taught the transient purpose of all language, and demanded acceptance of the truth itself in faith in the eternal love and grace which he revealed. And to those who receive him no other method but that of the truth and the Spirit are now needed. Much that is of value has come out of past methods; but they were for the times. Jesus—the very truth of God—is for all times. The divine voice has spoken and has said to men: “Not Moses with his law, not Elijah with his judgment, but my beloved Son, full of grace and truth shall ye hear.”

The perception of this method of revelation, and the acceptance of the progressive principle of divine communication which completes itself in a knowledge of spiritual reality apart from its medium, is of great practical value. It will save men from that bondage to the letter, which killeth, and will give that liberty of the spirit, which finds life. It will deliver from the danger of looking on the modern wonder-worker—even though he heals—as being necessarily an accredited teacher of divine truth. It will keep men from that ignorant spirit which would turn from the spiritual truth of God and demand a sign from heaven. It will enable men to live by the spirit now, without denying that men in past times needed and received ministrations through the senses. In short, it will keep men, on the one hand, from that superstitious spirit which “seeks after a sign” and which ever exposes its subjects to the danger of becoming “a wicked and adulterous generation,” seeking God by sense; and, on the other hand, it will keep them from that skeptical spirit which rejects all forms unnecessary now, and which is always exposed to the danger, not simply of denying the forms, but also of denying the spirit veiled beneath those forms, thereby denying the truth of God. Men who hold to this principle of interpretation will not attempt to force the exactitude of scientific statement into the poetical and pictorial symbolism of another race and time, and they will find that knowledge of the truth of God and will grow in that experience of the grace of Christ which will fulfil his desire in them. For he has said: “This is life eternal, that they should know thee, the only true God, and him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ.”

A RELIGION FOR THE NON-MYSTICAL MIND:

JAMES 1:22-27

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I sometimes ask myself, when I come away from certain religious gatherings: Has Christianity any religion for the unemotional type of mind? Must a man become a mystic to be a Christian? There are many men who cannot become mystics. The emotional sense of the presence of the Divine, the sweep of feeling that carries one out of himself, the mystic ecstasy, is not for them. Sometimes they have never known the experience. It is absolutely apart from their life. Sometimes they have known it all too well. They recall times when they were swept from their feet by the mystic side of Christianity, when they tasted the sweetness of an emotional religious experience. They are not inclined to ridicule it. It played a part in their developing religious life. It has passed now; and they are glad it has passed, and have no desire that it should return.

Now, our communities are full of men—and to a somewhat less extent, of women—who are described, with more or less accuracy, in these terms. Their purposes are right. They lead noble lives. They honor the law of God. They find their greatest inspiration in the teachings and life of Christ. But they are often told, with varying degrees of plainness, that they may be moral, but they are not religious. All their fear of God, their love of holiness, their reverence and imitation of Christ, are of no avail. When they analyze the situation, they begin to see that there is, especially in the non-liturgical churches, a tendency to throw out as illegitimate all types of religious life except the mystical. It is sometimes said that the church is not gaining, as we have a right to believe it should, among the hard-headed, hard-working men of the world. If that is so, may not one reason be that the church exalts the mystic type of religion, and ignores the unemotional type? Is it not significant that, when you ask a man what he thinks religion is, his answer will usually be in ethical-rational terms; when you ask him what kind of religion he

thinks the church would expect him to have if he offered to join it, his answer will usually be in mystical terms?

It is worth while to examine the Bible and find if Christianity has a religion for the non-mystical type of mind. Certainly Judaism had. The whole wisdom literature is the expression of exactly this type of religious thought. One might expect that Christianity would not be less universal in its appeal. A study of the New Testament shows, what one would expect to be the case, that there is abundance of room for the Christian of the unemotional, ethical-rational type. Christ is his master too, as well as that of the mystic. The Sermon on the Mount speaks directly to his type of mind. Not one word of it lies outside his experience. The great mass of the teachings of Jesus appeals to him. He knows what Jesus meant by loving God and loving your brother. He finds no requirement for mystic ecstasy laid down by his Master. He finds that mysticism was abundant in the early church. It is to be recognized in the speaking with tongues and in some other spiritual gifts. Paul had more than a touch of it. Very evidently it was a part of developing Christianity, as it has been of almost every other religion in the world; but evidently it is not all, nor even an essential part, of Christianity.

The Epistle of James is the clearest New Testament expression of the ethical-rational type of religion. It reads like a commentary on the Sermon on the Mount. Certain passages of it are specially valuable as coming close to a definition of religion as it appeals to the practical and unemotional mind. Perhaps the most comprehensive of these is 1:22-27. The passage is a protest against religion which evaporates in talk, and a definition of the true issue of religion in terms of efficiency. It states principles and gives illustrations. The principles are two:

1. God has spoken a word to man (see vss. 19-21). The writer does not define the word, nor does he say how it has been spoken. It is not difficult to see what he means. He is speaking to Christians. The "word" is the whole gospel. It is (vs. 21) able to save, but how it saves he returns to say later (in 2:14-26). At present he merely lays the foundation that there is a word of God which has come to his readers.

2. This word must bear fruit in the actions of life. That is the one way by which God may be served. That seems commonplace,

but a large number of most earnest Christians do not believe it. They think that God may also be served by a mystic feeling. Now, emotional experiences of many kinds may incite to the service of God, and so may be of great religious value; but the experience itself is not the service of God. It is not worship, in the true sense of the word.

Two illustrations of a wrong issue of religion are given:

1. The man who is only a hearer of the word.
2. The man who fails to control his speech.

Two illustrations of the right issue of religion are set over against these:

1. The man who not only hears, but acts on what he hears.
2. The man whose life is merciful and pure.

In each case the first is a general, the second a specific statement. The general case is made more plain by the figure of the mirror. The property of the mirror is to show the truth. A man who only glances into it and then goes away—what does he really know about what he is? He forgets what his glance has shown. But the man who bends over and looks intently into it—the word used implies this—finds out what the other never thought of. He reads there God's perfect law of liberty. Here the figure fails to express all the writer's meaning, and is dropped as inadequate. This figure of the mirror loses half its force in our land, where mirrors hang on every wall. In the ancient East, as in many parts of the present East, a mirror was an article of luxury. I recall the frank curiosity and eagerness with which I have seen children and even grown men in the East study themselves in a small mirror. The operation did not seem undignified nor the result unprofitable. "He who really gives attention to the word from God," says our author, "finds that it is a law of God, and he becomes not merely a listener, but 'a doer of work'." That is the way religion appeals to the man of the unemotional, ethical-rational type of thought. The recognition of the word of God seems to him to issue, not necessarily in mystic feeling—that may or may not be, according to temperament—but in getting something done. That is essential, the other is incidental.

At this point the mystic is sure to rise and say: "But love—are you not leaving that out?" "By no means," he answers. "But what is love? Tell me that." Romantic novelists have combined with religious mystics to make us almost forget that love is a great

underlying purpose in life, of which ecstatic emotion is not the highest expression. Self-devotion is infinitely higher. In fact, emotion and action are in inverse ratio to each other. The common events of life teach us that vigorous action relieves emotion. A man tries to draw his friend away from the weight of his sorrow by interesting him in activity. The law holds for religion also. Love is devotion, not emotion. It is to be defined in terms of will. It wills to devote itself to the best interests of its object. Let us refuse to allow the mystic to appropriate for his exclusive use the word "love." We may go farther. We may say to him: "Your type of love is genuine, but it is only love in blossom. It is immature, adolescent. The other type of love is very much higher than yours. That is love in fruit-age, ripened, matured. You may well pray to grow out of your present type of religious life into that."

Most of the rest of the Epistle of James is an explication of this type of religion issuing in various phases of life. Vss. 26, 27 are statements—introductory and comprehensive, but specific—of this issue. They have to do with worship—that is what the word translated "religion" means—worship in the broadest sense; the objective side of religion, what it issues in. The word is used here only in the New Testament, though a kindred word occurs in Acts 26:5; Col. 2:18, 23. A man who thinks he is expressing his religion, says the author, and who cannot even control his tongue, let alone doing anything for anyone else, is expressing no religion. That expression consists in helping others and living a pure life. The true worship of God is not mysticism, but ethics. Religion is not "conduct touched with emotion." It is conduct, regardless of emotion, pursued under the sense of duty to God. Conduct usually issues in emotion of greater or less intensity; but the conduct is primary, the emotion secondary. It would not be far wrong to call emotion the by-product of conduct. The chief emphasis is not to be placed upon by-products.

The unemotional man may come from his study of the Bible feeling that he is not an outcast from the household of faith. Christianity has a place for his type of thought. I am convinced that pastors and teachers can help large numbers of the most thoughtful and most hard-working people under their charge by the plain statement of this fact.

THE SUPPLY OF EDUCATED MEN FOR THE MINISTRY¹

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This paper will limit itself, as seems appropriate in addressing the Religious Education Association, to the question of the supply of educated men for the ministry, and indeed, as is perhaps less appropriate, mainly to that of men prepared for the ministry by both a college and seminary course.

I have collected the statistics of attendance at fifty-eight of the leading theological schools of the United States, covering a period of approximately a quarter-century. In this list are included practically all which are intended especially for college graduates. From it I have intended to exclude all schools of a lower grade than this, and the foreign departments of such schools as maintain such departments of a lower grade than I have indicated. I have not undertaken to exclude from the statistics the non-college graduates studying in schools whose work is intended for college graduates, even though in a few of the schools included in this list the college graduates are not over one-third of the whole number.

Inasmuch as most theological schools are distinctly denominational in the sense that each draws almost exclusively from one denomination, and inasmuch as the facts respecting different denominations are very different, it has seemed best to present the statistics by groups, despite the fact that some schools are difficult to classify on this basis. To meet the difficulty, certain schools have been included in two groups, though of course without duplication of their figures in the totals.

It will be seen from the following table that all these schools, taken together, had in 1881, 2,150 students; that in the next nine years they gained in round numbers 1,000 students; in the next five

¹ Read before the Theological Seminaries Section of the Religious Education Association at Rochester, N. Y., February 7, 1907.

STATISTICS OF ATTENDANCE AT GRADUATE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1880-1907

| | 1880-81 | 1889-90 | 1894-95 | 1895-05 | 1905-6 | 1906-7 |
|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|--------|--------|
| 11 Presbyterian ² | 545 | 783 | 1,073 | 805 | 778 | 747 |
| 3 Reformed Presbyterian and United Presbyterian ³ | 88 | 109 | 132 | 105 | 95 | 117 |
| 6 Reformed ⁴ | 96 | 135 | 204 | 158 | 150 | 144 |
| 8 Lutheran ⁵ | 167 | 223 | 336 | 283 | 260 | 266 |
| 8 Congregational and United Brethren ⁶ | 323 | 526 | 545 | 407 | 366 | 365 |
| 7 Baptist and Free Baptist ⁷ | 369 | 534 | 751 | 714 | 687 | 680 |
| 4 Methodist ⁸ | 297 | 459 | 483 | 550 | 635 | 602 |
| 6 Episcopal ⁹ | 191 | 234 | 291 | 262 | 243 | 251 |
| 3 Universalist ¹⁰ | 31 | 68 | 97 | 46 | 35 | 38 |
| 2 Unitarian and undenominational ¹¹ .. | 43 | 71 | 92 | 51 | 61 | 57 |
| 4 Schools having an interdenominational constituency ¹² | 295 | 443 | 454 | 468 | 459 | 476 |
| Total, excluding duplicates | 2,150 | 3,142 | 4,004 | 3,381 | 3,310 | 3,267 |

² Auburn, Lane, McCormick, Princeton, Allegheny, Union (Va.), Lebanon, Kentucky, San Francisco, Omaha, Union (N. Y.).

³ Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary (Allegheny), Allegheny Theological Seminary (U. P.), Xenia Theological Seminary (U. P.).

⁴ Theological Seminary of Reformed Church, Theological Seminary of Reformed Church in America (Lancaster, Pa.), Heidelberg Theological Seminary, Western Theological Seminary, Ursinus School of Theology, Mission House.

⁵ Theological Seminary of United Synod (Mount Pleasant, S. C.), Evangelical Lutheran Seminary (Columbus, O.), Susquehanna School of Theology (Selinsgrove, Pa.), Lutheran Theological Seminary (Philadelphia), Theological Seminary Evangelical Lutheran (Chicago), Lutheran Theological Seminary (Gettysburg, Pa.), Wittenberg Theological Seminary (Springfield, O.), Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary (Wauwatosa, Wis.).

⁶ Andover, Bangor, Chicago, Hartford, Oberlin, Pacific Union Biblical Seminary, (United Brethren) Dayton, O., Yale.

⁷ Colgate, Newton, Rochester, Crozer, Louisville, Chicago, Cobb. The figures used for the University of Chicago are not those of total attendance, but include only students in the Graduate Divinity School in residence in the given year two or more quarters, i.e., six months or more.

⁸ Boston University School of Theology, Drew Theological Seminary, Garrett Biblical Institute, Vanderbilt.

⁹ Berkeley (Conn.) Divinity School, General Theological Seminary (N. Y.), Seabury Divinity School (Minn.), Western Theological Seminary (Griswold College), Theological Seminary (Cambridge), Nashotah House.

¹⁰ St. Lawrence, Ryder (Galesburg), Tufts.

¹¹ Meadville, Harvard.

¹² Union (N. Y.), Yale, Harvard, Chicago.

years, 850 students, reaching their maximum in 1894-95; that in the twelve years since that period they have lost over 700 students. It is further worthy of notice that we are now apparently about at a standstill, neither gaining markedly nor losing.

It is beyond my power to state what were the causes that produced either the large gain of 1,850 in fourteen years, 86 per cent. of the number at the beginning of the period, or the marked diminution in numbers in the last twelve years. It is evident, however, that it is time to inquire into these causes and to consider what can be done to remedy the situation. As bearing upon this latter question, attention may be called to a fact or two, and one or two impressions expressed.

Statistics obtained from the colleges of the country, though too incomplete to be worth printing, indicate strongly that the men entering the seminaries come today in very large proportion from the smaller colleges. Evidence, likewise too incomplete to tabulate, yet fairly decisive in its character, tends to show that the large majority of men who enter the theological school after a college course decided to do so before entering a college, and that not a few of those who enter college intending to enter the ministry abandon that purpose while in college.

A third fact of possible significance is the rapid growth of a few theological schools in which theological work is begun not after a college course, but as a part of it or in connection with it.

These facts convey several suggestions:

1. It is easier to lead young men to decide to enter the ministry before they enter college than while they are in college. If successful efforts are to be made to increase the supply of men for the ministry, it is possible, not to say probable, that they must be made in the home, in the church, and in the academy, rather than in the college. The problem belongs to the mother and father and the pastor, more perhaps than to the college officer.

2. Respecting the college student, the pressing problem is not so much to induce him to decide for the ministry as to prevent his abandonment of a purpose already formed. No doubt some men who go to college intending to enter the ministry do wisely to change their purpose. But presumably this is not true in the majority of cases.

3. This tendency of the college student to give up while in college the purpose to enter the ministry which he had when he entered, together with the growth of what we may well call the theological college, raises the question whether it may be possible and advisable to devise some plan by which professional study for the ministry may begin at an earlier point than it now does in our schools of the highest grade. It would not necessarily follow that the whole course should be shortened thereby. This is surely not a time in which to take any step which would tend to diminish the number of men entering the ministry with a full and adequate preparation, or to shorten the course of the average student. But if to the number of those who now enter the ministry with college and seminary training it were possible to add a group of men who take up its work after a college course which has been in part theological and in part non-theological, or, by beginning professional study earlier, to hold for the ministry some of the men who now give up their purpose to enter it in the course of the four years of unprofessional work in college, this would seem to be clear gain.

EXPOSITORY STUDIES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

VI. THE GIVING OF THE LAW AND THE DESERT WANDERINGS

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GOD FEEDS ISRAEL IN THE WILDERNESS: EXODUS 16:1-15¹

I. CRITICAL

The present chapter is undoubtedly composite, but the analysis is beset with difficulties, due to frequent redaction. Vss. 1-3 and 9-13a, however, are probably to be taken together and ascribed to P; vss. 4, 5, 13b-15 given to J; while vss. 6-8 are to be regarded as a later accretion. Observe that vss. 6-8 are largely meaningless before vss. 9-13. In vss. 6-8 Moses promises food, though he is not empowered to do this until vss. 11 ff. In vss. 6-8 Jehovah's glory is to be manifested in the act of sending food, in vs. 10 in the theophanic cloud.

In the original J narrative the purpose of the manna-gift is lovingly disciplinary, not judicial (vss. 4, 5). In P there seems to have been a confusion of the original manna-story of J with the quail-story of JE in Num., chap. 11, which tends to suggest a punitive character in the manna-gift.

II. EXPOSITORY

"Wilderness of Sin" (vs. 1): In Num. 33:11 a camp at the Red Sea is mentioned between Elim and Sin. This camp is usually located at the Wadi Tajibe. From here the road to Sinai branches into a northerly and a southerly route. As it is difficult to say which route the Israelites took, the location of Sin is doubtful. If the northern route was followed, Sin would be the plain of Debbet er Ramle. Our narrative describes the second event in the wilderness wanderings after the departure from the Red Sea.

Vss. 4 and 5 seem to presuppose the sabbath law (cf. vss. 20-30). If so, they are either intended to explain the original promulgation of the sabbath law or else are anachronistic (cf. the implications of extensive legislation in vs. 28).

Vs. 8 is the interpretation of vss. 6, 7. In the evening they shall know that Jehovah redeemed them, and in the morning they shall see his glory through the flesh and bread given to them.

¹ International Sunday-School Lesson for July 7, 1907.

The phrase "come before the Lord" (vs. 9) implies a definite place of worship, while the phrase "they looked toward the wilderness" (vs. 10) is vague and unintelligible. Num. 14:10 ff.; 16:19 ff.; 16:41, 42 (especially); 20:1-6; Ex. 40:34; Lev. 9:1, suggest a reference to the tabernacle as the place of worship in vss. 9-13a, and that we should read "they turned toward the tabernacle," instead of, "they turned toward the wilderness." This is confirmed by vss. 33, 34, where the "testimony" refers to the tables of stone which rested in the ark in the tabernacle (Ex. 25:16-21; 40:20; Num. 17:10). But Ex., chap. 16, is placed before the building of the tabernacle! Again an obvious anachronism.

"And the quails went up" (vs. 13): Their appearance is as sudden as the whirl of the actual bird, and their disappearance equally sudden. No trace of them is found in vss. 13b-36, and the reference to them is allusive (*the* quails), not self-explanatory. Apart from Num., chap. 11, the allusion to them would be unintelligible. In Num., chap. 11, they are sent in judgment because the people rebelled at eating the manna. Hence the suggestion of the punitive purpose of the manna-gift in P mentioned above, which is further confirmed by the introduction to P's narrative (vss. 1-3) in which the murmuring of the people is emphasized, naturally demanding punishment, and by the appearance of the glory of Jehovah (vss. 9, 10) which was to vindicate Moses and Aaron and rebuke the people (cf. Num. 14:10 ff.; 16:19 ff.; 16:41, 42).

Migrations of quails are frequently observed in this general region in the spring (cf. the date in vs. 1). Manna is also a natural product of the Sinaitic peninsula, still called by the natives "heavenly manna." The three biblical parallels (Ex. 16:14, 31; Num. 11:7-9) answer in a measure to the natural product, but the peculiar characteristics ascribed to it in vss. 4, 5, 16-18, 19-30; Deut. 8:16; Josh. 5:12, differentiate the biblical manna as unmistakably miraculous. The narrative, in the case of both the quails and the manna, is based on natural phenomena, but intends to record a miracle and must be accepted as such, or rejected as an allegorizing legend founded on the actual conditions of life in the peninsula. The word "manna" itself is of unknown derivation. Vss. 15 and 31 record a popular etymology.

III. SUGGESTIONS

1. The tragic power of physical discomforts to destroy spiritual aspiration or the danger of penury (vss. 1-3). The people had set out from Egypt in a mighty enthusiasm to meet Jehovah and to learn his will, but within a few weeks the hardships of the wilderness had driven from their minds all longings but those for a square meal. It is the old warfare

between the senses and the soul—the old temptation to magnify the things seen at the expense of the things unseen, to imagine that the tangible has more real substance and is more satisfying than the spiritual. Bound for the Mount of God, men long for the fleshpots of Egypt. Perhaps the pathos of it all is even greater than the folly of it.

2. Sufficiency is better than satiety or the danger of riches (vss. 4, 5). “A day’s portion every day,” and on the sixth day—i. e., at a crisis—a double amount! A needed lesson in a land so lavish in its bounty as ours! The generous flow of its great rivers, its boundless prairies, its untold wealth of forest, soil, and mine, all suggest prodigality, and we realize in these days the power of suggestion. In such a land the prayer of Agur (Prov. 30:8) is difficult to pray. It is hard for us to avoid excess in our habits of life and exaggeration in our modes of thinking, and to accustom ourselves to the idea of adequacy, of proportion, which means harmony, which means serene, abiding joy.

3. As against the wear of penury and the waste of riches, the manna-gift teaches us the lesson of the helpful discipline of daily needs. As a wilderness-product and emblem of its scanty fare, the manna stands for the hardship of the wilderness (Num. 11:4 ff.; 21:5). As such it may properly symbolize the bread which is eaten in the sweat of the brow in life’s pilgrimage, the bread that stands for the struggle of life. Shall we hate this fare as the Israelites did, and let the struggle embitter us; or shall we look for a higher meaning in this struggle? For manna is also the symbol of God’s chastening love, given to prove Israel and to do them good (vs. 4; Deut. 8:3, 16). And so the bread which stands for the struggle of life may also stand for its perfecting discipline. The sting of the struggle is then drawn; its bitterness changed to blessing. But the manna is also “bread of heaven” (Neh. 9:15), and as such a symbol of God’s loving providence; so the bread of daily life may symbolize, not only a struggle to be endured, a discipline to be patiently acquiesced in, but a providence to be gratefully accepted and enjoyed. But finally the manna is transmuted into angel’s food (Ps. 78:25; A. V. gives correct sense); so the bread of daily life, symbol of bitter struggle, of loving discipline, of kindly providence, is at length refined into an earnest of still higher gifts, and the manna, originally a symbol of the desert, becomes in the end a type of Christ himself (John, chap. 6) and of the heavenly joys (Rev. 2:17). Shall we not find Christ himself and spiritual joy in the discipline of our daily life? In the thought of the manna-gift the grace at table should become one of the most beautiful of spiritual exercises, instead of, as it often is, one of the

most meaningless of forms, and the petition, "Give us this day our daily bread," expands into an all-inclusive prayer.²

THE DECALOGUE: EXODUS 20:1-11³

I. CRITICAL

1. *Original form.*—The fact of two variant recensions raises this question.

The Decalogue, when carefully examined, is found to be composed of brief, sententious commands (cf. especially Ex. 20:13-17), and of expansions which either further elucidate the commands (cf. vss. 4b, 5a, 10, 17b) or give the motives for their observance (vss. 5b, 6, 7b, 11, 12b). These expansions are later accretions. When they are removed the symmetry of the Decalogue is more obvious. In its present Hebrew form there are 146 words in the first five commands, and only 26 in the last five—a suspicious disproportion. Not all of the expansions are vitally connected with their respective commands (see below). This is surprising in what purports to be a closely knit résumé of "the whole duty of man." We would expect each word to be indispensable to the perfect whole. The expansions do not supplement or support each other. Contrast the germinal commands which, taken together, constitute a self-supporting system. The main variations in the two recensions are in the expansions (actually two independent "reasons annexed" to the fourth command!). This incidentally testifies to their later origin. Hence, in discussing date and authorship of the Decalogue the expansions are to be omitted from consideration.

2. *Date and authorship.*—The answer to this question does not affect the value of the Decalogue as one of the supreme expressions of ethical religion. This value is inherent, and not conferred upon it by a name; e.g., that of Moses. The desire to maintain the Mosaic authorship of the Decalogue is for the most part due to inspiration theories which hold that inspiration is necessary to the authentication rather than to the discovery of truth. But moral truth, as *self*-authenticating, does not need inspired authentication, while for historical facts such authentication is as irrelevant as for the facts of geology or chemistry. In proportion as the facts are scientifically doubtful, doubt will be cast upon the inspiration supposed to authenticate them. In proportion as they are scientifically credible, they do not require such authentication. But the answer *does* affect vitally our

² Consult also the beautiful allegory of the manna in the Wisdom of Solomon, 16:20 ff.

³ In this section the International Sunday-School Lessons for July 14 and 21 are treated together.

conception of the historical development of the religion of Israel. In other words, while dogmatically of no importance, it is historically of great importance.

If the Decalogue is Mosaic, we have at the outset of Israel's history a highly developed conception of God and of religion as a fundamentally ethical affair. Mosaic religion could not then have been simply a somewhat advanced nature-worship, and the great prophetic movement which began with Amos in the eighth century must be regarded as a revival of Mosaic ideals rather than a revolution in these ideals. If the Decalogue is not Mosaic, there is no suitable historical background to serve as a second cause for it until we arrive at the eighth century, and we must regard the prophets rather than Moses as the real founders of the Hebrew religion, in so far as it is the forerunner of Christianity.

There are two main lines of argument against the Mosaic authorship of the Decalogue: that from the character of the commands, and that from its relationship to other codes of law. It is urged that the command against images could not have been Mosaic, as images were employed in the Jehovah worship in the early period of Israelitic history, was the form of the state religion in the northern kingdom, and was unrebuked by Elijah and Elisha; and that the Decalogue as a whole, in its almost exclusive insistence upon the ethical at the cost of the ceremonial (the sabbath law being the only reference to the ceremonial), breathes the spirit of eighth-century prophecy in its revolt against the whole ceremonial system. Again, the relationship of the Decalogue to "The little Book of the Covenant" (Ex. 20:22-23:33) on the one hand, and to the Jahwistic Decalogue (Ex. 34:11-26) on the other, is held to testify to its late origin. These corpora, it is claimed, represent the more primitive stage of Hebrew religion, which is concerned chiefly with the ceremonial, whereas the Decalogue reflects the more advanced stage in which the will of God is summed up in a moral code.

The view that the Decalogue is a classic precipitate of the prophetic movement is certainly most attractive from the point of view of a progressive revelation, and if it could be made clear that Ex., chap. 34, really contains a decalogue, as Goethe was the first to suggest, the case against Ex. 20:1-17 would be very strong, for we should have a contradictory tradition as to what the Decalogue really was. But the interpretation of Ex., chap. 34, is by no means certain.

On the contrary, the existence of an imageless worship at Jerusalem and the fact that the prophets assumed that the people were conscious that they had inherited an advanced conception of God and an ethically constituted religion, favor a preprophetic, hence a Mosaic, origin of the Decalogue.

II. EXPOSITORY

The specific commands.—The preface (vs. 2) gives the authority of the Decalogue. The custom of naming the deity points to the polytheistic background out of which the Decalogue has emerged, in which the various gods were distinguished by names. The use of it in our day is so far forth an anachronism, and has, in fact, largely been relegated to hymnology. Yet it is useful in aiding us to personalize the deity. Thus, at the outset, the Decalogue is seen to be historically conditioned. This fact is still more obvious in the expansion (vs. 2*b*). The Decalogue is nationalistically formulated. As Luther long ago observed: "We Christians were never brought out of Egypt." The preface is therefore significant for us only when interpreted by analogy and symbolically.

The first command.—Henotheistic rather than distinctly monotheistic; i. e., the existence of other gods is not expressly denied (cf. Ex. 15:11). The vital force in this command is seen in its steady expansion from its repudiation of the worship of other gods to the denial of their existence. In it lay potentially the death sentence upon Pan. It is the fountain from which flowed the river which was to cleanse the Augean stables of polytheism, and make our modern civilization religiously sanitary.

The second command.—The rabbinic, Roman Catholic, and Lutheran tradition combines vss. 3 and 4-6 into one command. This is in a measure justified by the present text. The prohibition of polytheism in vs. 3 is only specialized in the prohibition of idols in vss. 4, 5*a*. But on this view, in order to secure the number ten, either vs. 2 was regarded as the first command, or vs. 17 was divided into two on the basis of the deuteronomic text. Neither of these alternatives is exegetically possible. Hence the premise that requires them is untenable. Therefore vss. 4 (except the first clause) and 5*a* must be regarded as a later expansion which has obscured the meaning of the command—a supposition confirmed by the obscurity of the construction of the second clause in Hebrew. (The different italicized words in the A. V. [followed by the American R. V.] and the English R. V. reflect the difficulty.) In the original form the second command is a clear advance upon the first, and not a specification under it: Do not worship other gods than Jehovah (against polytheism); do not worship Jehovah under any other form (against all that makes for an unspiritual conception of Jehovah). This command is the necessary supplement to the first in the purification of the god-idea. Yet Luther profoundly pointed out in his contest with Carlstad that there is a ceremonial and transient element in this command which has been abrogated by such considerations as those advanced by Paul in I Cor., chap. 8. We would scarcely accuse Michael Angelo of

idolatry for painting his picture of the creation of Adam, though it was undoubtedly an infraction of the letter of this command.

The secondary character of "the reason annexed" is clear from its double relationship to the first and to the present form of the second command, which has also led to the merging of the two into one, and from the fact that it has been adapted from Ex. 34:6, 7 and Num. 14:18 (cf. Jer. 32:18), where the thought of love stands first, to its present context, where the thought of hate stands first. The thought of love really has no business here (cf. Ex. 34:14). Yet this profound characterization of God, in which mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other, serves to heighten the moral power of the god-idea seen in the first two commands.

The punishment of the children for the sins of the fathers belongs to the primitive conception of the solidarity of the family, which was emphasized almost to the exclusion of the importance of the individual as such. The tragedy of heredity compels us to acknowledge a measure of historical truth in this conception, but its theodicy may not be understood till the curtain of history has been raised on the last act of the drama.

"Love to thousands" means to thousands of generations, i. e., infinitely (cf. Deut. 7:9). Love, not punishment, is the ultimate fact in the universe. We live, thank God, in a developing kosmos, not in an increasing chaos.

The third command.—"Name" in Hebrew stands for character, personality. To speak the name of God irreverently, as in the use of magic formulas, false prophecy, cursing, blasphemy, is to treat God himself with irreverence. This command will guard the sacredness of God's person, and inculcate reverence, awe, and the spirit of worship. In so doing it expresses the very essence of the religion of Israel, which is often technically called "the fear of Jehovah," and illustrates how this religion may still make a much-needed contribution to our modern life. In a democratic age and country the doctrine of equality is apt to weaken the feeling of reverence. Ruskin has criticized the United States as the land whose mission it is to turn all sacred things into a joke. A hard saying, possibly exaggerated, yet no one would assert that we have outgrown the third command. A religion that has outgrown it has lost the sense of mystery and has become resolved into rationalism.

The fourth command.—This is the one frankly ceremonial command in the Decalogue. It is significant that of all the ceremonial system which was so permeated by the idea of sacrifice, this¹ command should be singled out. If the Decalogue is really a precipitate of prophecy, this can be

easily understood. It is a rite least liable to become an *opus operatum*, and of all ceremonies has shown itself most serviceable in the promotion of spiritual and ethical, i. e., prophetic, religion. In the humanitarian conception of the day in the deuteronomic recension it has also proved the greatest social and economic gift which the Hebrews have contributed to civilization. But in the laudable desire to perpetuate its spiritual and physical advantages we are not to be enticed into basing its observance upon false premises.

Two reasons are "annexed" for its observance: the cosmological (vs. 11) and the humanitarian (Deut. 5:14b, 15). The perpetual obligation of the sabbath has been regularly based upon the former reason as supposedly involving a *law of nature* which at the same time, because of its position in a code of natural morality, was also considered to be a fundamentally moral law.

This position is critically untenable, because the cosmology of Genesis upon which this "natural law" is based has been abandoned; because the history of the sabbath teaches that in its origin it was almost certainly a lunar festival, associated with the feast of the new moon and quite possibly, though not as yet demonstrably, of Babylonian, or at least primitive Semitic, origin; as such it has no more claim to the authority of a natural law than the parallel feast of the new moon; because this cosmological reason is evidently an after-thought. Vs. 11 belongs to the secondary expansion of the fourth command, and must be later than Deuteronomy; for the Deuteronomist would scarcely have ventured to supplant it with his humanitarian reason, and, further, it is clearly dependent on the late Priest's Code (Gen. 2:2, 3).

This position is ethically undesirable, because the command to rest on one day in seven is essentially as non-moral as would be a command to sleep eight hours in twenty-four, and to consider observance of a ceremonial rite as in itself a matter of fundamental morality is always ethically dangerous; because the history of the sabbath again teaches the actuality of this danger, for the ceremonial observance of the day soon came to be regarded as an end in itself, and so totally superseded the humanitarian idea that in the post-exilic Priest's Code the death penalty is attached to its violation (Ex. 31:12-17; 35:1-3; Num. 15:32-36). The final outcome was the unlovely sabbath of the scribes and Pharisees who "watched Him to see whether he would heal on the Sabbath day."

Finally, this position is historically non-Christian, because the Jews themselves regarded it as a specifically Jewish institution (Ezek. 20:12-24; Ex. 31:12-17; also Deut. 5:15 and Isa. 56:1-8); because Christ revived

the humanitarian reason for sabbath observance (Mark 2:27). But this, in the nature of the case, cannot be regarded as a perpetually obligatory moral and natural law, for humanitarian agencies must change with changing conditions, and hence Paul actually abrogates the sabbath (Col. 2:16; compare the significant omission of the necessity for sabbath observance among gentile Christians in the decree of the Jerusalem council, Acts 15:22-29); and in this he was followed by the early church, by Luther, and by Calvin.

The Christian church celebrates, not the Jewish sabbath, but the Lord's Day—a memorial of the resurrection of Christ. But it would forfeit an inestimable privilege if it failed to incorporate with the Lord's Day observance the deuteronomic humanitarian idea of the sabbath which was emphasized by Christ; for by this blend it can again reunite a purely religious idea with one of the most useful agencies for social service that the world has yet discovered. The authority for such an observance will then be found in love to Christ and to our neighbor, and the sabbath, like Christmas, will come to the world as a gift, and not as a law for the infraction of which a death penalty is prescribed.

The fifth command.—This is to be construed with the first four under the caption of religion, not with the last five. The commands were traditionally regarded as ten in number, written on two tables of stone (Deut. 24:13; 5:22; 10:4; Ex. 34:1, 28). This at once suggests the division into two pentads. The fifth, like the fourth a positive command, would naturally go with it. Primitive society looked upon the family as a religious rather than a social unit. The parent stands in the place of God to the child. His power is almost absolute (Ex. 21:7; Num. 30:6). Disobedience or dishonor to a parent, as to God, is punishable with death (Ex. 21:15, 17; Deut. 21:18-22; Lev. 24:15). While with us the earthly father, as the Heavenly Father, is more a father and less a master, the religious view of the family underlying this command is in sad need of reaffirmation. If the family is regarded simply as a social unit, marriage will be regarded only as a civil contract, and what is based solely on civil law may be properly annulled by the same. The conception of the family as a religious unit will be the strongest safeguard against the prevalent laxity in our views of the obligation of family ties, and on this view we may hope to see the family altar fire rekindled.

The "reason annexed" does not belong specifically to this command and is secondary (cf. Deut. 4:40; 5:30; 6:2; 11:19; 22:7).

The sixth command protects the right to life. Again a germinal command with the power of life and growth within it (cf. Matt. 5:21-26).

As protecting the right to life it may be referred, not only to direct manslaughter, but to indirect manslaughter, and thus becomes a protest against the reckless disregard of the sacredness of life in our modern civilization. The modern conscience is becoming squeamish about war which costs too much, but is still deaf to the cry of the spilt blood in sweat-shop, tenement, and railroad yard, and willing to feed with human fuel the vast, wealth-producing machinery of modern industrialism.

The seventh command protects the right to the wife, originally considered to be a property right. Positively expressed, it did not mean "be chaste," but "respect the family of your neighbor as you would respect his other property." This is clear from the collocation of this command with the others guarding natural rights, from the fact that it was customary to buy the wife (cf. especially Ex. 22:15, 16, where the violation of a virgin is a wrong done, not to her, but to the father because her market value was lessened), and from the fact that concubinage was especially provided for (Ex. 21:7-11). But again this command is able to keep pace with the advancing moral ideal as to the sanctity of the marriage relation (cf. Matt. 5:27-32). From a command protecting the most precious property right it grows naturally into a command protecting the purity of the family. The gradually increasing importance attached to this law is reflected even in the history of the text of the Decalogue. In the Septuagint B of Exodus and Deuteronomy it precedes the commands against murder and theft. So also in Philo and Rom. 13:9.

The eighth command protects the right to property generally. The main expansion here has been, not in the command, but in the manifold ways of transgressing it, from the tricks of the artful dodger to the strategy of high finance.

The ninth command protects the right to a judicially "square deal," in keeping with the yearning after equity which sighs throughout the Old Testament. It is not originally a prohibition aimed against deceit generally, nor even, more specifically, against calumny and slander (as in Ex. 23:1). It probably left out of view even the right of a foreigner to truth in court, for "neighbor" means fellow-countryman. This command was therefore, originally, much restricted in its scope. But it was aimed at one of the greatest abuses in the ancient Orient, where justice was almost unknown, and it was the transgression of this command that brought our Lord himself to the cross (Matt. 26:59). But the right to truth before the human judge will naturally enlarge into the right to truth before the heavenly Judge; i. e., to the right to truth always and everywhere.

The tenth command touches the inner life, and thus becomes the climax

of the second table, including the preceding commands and deepening them. It is the exegetical justification of Christ's profound expansions of the Decalogue in the Sermon on the Mount, and at the same time reveals the distance at which man stands from Christ's ideal (Rom. 7:7).

In Exodus "house" means household, and is inclusive of all that follows, which is thus seen to be an explanatory accretion. "Wife" is here not subordinated to "house," but stands first in the explanatory clause as the most important factor in the household. In Deuteronomy "house" is mistakenly interpreted as "dwelling," and hence the position of "wife" is changed in order to preserve the idea of her importance, which has been further emphasized by the use of the two different verbs ("covet" and "desire"). The deuteronomic text is clearly secondary, and hence cannot be utilized to support the Roman Catholic and Lutheran view that we have here really two commands.

III. RÉSUMÉ AND FINAL SUGGESTIONS

While a historical criticism shows that the form of the Decalogue is nationalistic, the original meaning of some of the commands limited in their scope, and the obligation of others (e. g., the fourth and in a certain sense the second) as ceremonial laws, transient, not permanent, it also reveals the marvelous character of this code in the following particulars:

1. In the potential value of its separate commands. They have the power of a consistent expansion, which *will do no violence to their original meaning*. Each law is so framed that its ethical capacity is larger than its original ethical content. Its architectural scheme has been planned on such a large and noble scale that, like the Cathedral of Cologne, it has taken centuries to realize the plan, but when completed the capstone is found to be in perfect accord with the suggestion of the foundation stone. The historical and exegetical propriety of expanding and adapting the Decalogue to the varying needs of other men, of other times, is found in the expansions to which its own text has been subjected and in the expansions to which Christ subjected it, which were only the further application of the principle involved in the tenth command, the climax of the second table.

2. In the potential value of each table as a whole. In the first table we have enunciated the germinal principle of monotheism (first command), the germinal principle of the spirituality of the one God (second command), together giving a purified idea of God; the general requirements of reverence and sincerity (third command) and self-sacrifice—i. e., in the surrender of time (fourth command), together giving a purified idea of worship in which the temptation of ceremonialism is reduced to a minimum by the

exclusion of the sacrificial system with its possibilities of priest-craft; finally, the general principle of the religious value of the family as the unit of society, by means of which the transition to the second table which deals with human relationships is effected. In the latter we have enunciated the general principles of the inviolable sacredness of the right to life, to the wife, as symbol of the family unity and honor, to property, to justice; all finally summed up and deepened in the tenth command, which reveals the well-spring of all human action, and thus potentially covers the whole field of human relationships. In the first table there is a descending scale from God in heaven to the human father, his nearest analogue on earth. In the second table there is an ascending scale from the consideration of rights to the consideration of motive, thus suggesting how all public morality is finally determined by the intangible things of the spirit.

3. In the potential value of the two tables is their union. Herein lies the absolute uniqueness of the Decalogue. It accomplished what no other code of antiquity accomplished—the indissoluble union of religion and morals. Religion without morals disintegrates into the rottenness of superstition, full of maggots and all uncleanness. Morals without religion lack the power of life and petrify into legality. A worm-eaten log or a petrified stump is a sad contrast to the living, fruitful tree.

Neither Moses himself nor the historical criticism of Moses can really dash in pieces the tables of stone. They remain a monument, more enduring than bronze, to the divine origin of the Hebrew religion

THE GOLDEN CALF: EXODUS 32:1-8, 30-35⁴

I. CRITICAL

Chap. 32 stands in the Sinai section of the Hexateuch (Ex. 19:24 (25-31^p), 32-34), in which the J and E sources have become badly entangled through repeated redactions. Yet three fairly well-defined strata may be discovered in the literary deposits of this chapter.

Vss. 25-29, the narrative of the institution of the Priesthood of Levi, probably represent the oldest stratum (E¹ or J?), and reflect a real opposition encountered by Moses in his attempt to consolidate the nomad Hebrew tribes on a new religious basis. Vss. 1-6, 15-20 (21-24?), 35, the narrative of the golden calf, are an eighth-century reformulation of the tradition in vss. 25-29, in which the opposition to Moses is construed as a relapse into image-worship. The narrator (probably E²) will discredit the calf-worship of the kingdom of the ten tribes, introduced as the official worship by Jeroboam I, and is the immediate predecessor or contemporary of

⁴ International Sunday-School Lesson for July 28, 1907.

Amos and Hosea, and the ally of prophecy in its war upon this worship. In other words, the critical view regards the story of the golden calf as reflecting feelings and conditions in the period of the Hebrew monarchies rather than in the age of Moses. Finally, vss. 7-14 and 30-34, the intercession of Moses, are later supplements by writers of the deuteronomic school, in which the stern founder of the nation, who was ready to crush opposition by massacre, has gradually become glorified into the mediator with God through whom the nation was preserved. That vss. 7-14 and 30-34 belong to a different stratum from the other sections of the chapter is obvious. In these verses Moses intercedes with God in behalf of the people; in the rest of the chapter he is angry with and punishes the people.

II. EXPOSITORY

"Make us gods" (vs. 1); R. V. margin, "a god": The singular construction, though not without analogy, is harsh at vs. 1, and almost intolerable at vss. 4*b* and 8*b*. Yet but one calf is intended (cf. vss. 5, 8*a*). I Kings 12:28*b* is verbally almost identical with Ex. 32:4*b*, 8*b*, and in Kings the plural, referring to two calves, is appropriate. Probably these clauses are taken from Kings and have influenced the number in the preceding context (an illustration of the close relationship between the narrative of the golden calf and the calf-worship of Jeroboam). "A molten calf" (vs. 4*a*): The peculiar wording of vs. 4 (the image seems to be carved before it is cast) and the fact that it could be burned (vs. 19) suggest that there are probably two variant traditions as to the material of the calf. The data may, of course, be harmonized into the idea of a wooden calf overlaid with gold. According to vs. 5 (a feast to Jehovah), the calf is evidently a symbol of Jehovah. This is, therefore, not an abandonment of the Jehovah-worship, but only of what was considered at one time to be the proper method of his worship. The calf, or perhaps better, young steer, was a favorite symbol among the Semites. It is associated with the Assyro-Babylonian storm-god Adad, and especially with the Phoenician Baal through which it came to the Greeks in the legend of Europa and the bull (i. e. Astarte and Zeus-Baal), and possibly in the legend of the Minotaur. The use of the bull as a symbol of Jehovah among the Hebrews was probably aboriginal and instinctive, and Jeroboam I did not violate, but rather favored, traditional sanctities in adopting it. Later, under the spiritualizing influence of prophecy, the calf-worship was repudiated as tending to confuse Jehovah with Baal, and our narrative reflects this later view in all probability. The Philonic and patristic view, that the Hebrew bull-worship originated in Egypt, and is to be connected more especially with

the Apis- and Mnevis-worship, must be rejected. Primitive theology would not have attributed the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt to Egyptian gods.

In vss. 7 and 8 God informs Moses of the people's sin. In vss. 15 ff. Moses apparently learns of it through his own observations. This shows that vss. 7 and 8 are probably to be taken with vss. 9-14 as a part of the later supplement.

"Thy book" (vs. 32): i. e., the book of life, in which the names of God's chosen ones were written, a very individualizing religious conception (cf. Isa. 4:3; Ps. 139:16; 69:29; Mal. 3:16; Dan. 12:1; also Ezek. 13:9 and I Sam. 25:29). The Babylonians also had their tablets of fate in which the life-fortunes of the individual were decreed, and also the tablets upon which his good deeds or sins were recorded (cf. Isa. 65:6; Neh. 13:14; Dan. 7-10). The doctrine of predestination has a very ancient pedigree.

Vss. 33: Vicarious intercession is accepted (vss. 9-14), but not vicarious suffering. Contrast the profounder view of Isa. 53.

"My angel" (vs. 34): Whether equivalent here to "my presence," i. e., to Jehovah himself (cf. 23:20 ff.; 33:2, 14), or to Jehovah's representative, is doubtful.

According to vs. 34^b the punishment is postponed; according to vs. 35 it is inflicted. Vs. 35 is to be connected with vss. 19, 20, or 21-24.

III. SUGGESTIONS

1. The danger of a false worship of the true God. In the present case this was through an inappropriate use of symbolism. Symbolism has its uses. The inability to realize the unseen and abstract justifies it. Men must depend on the tangible and illustrative. Speech is symbolic, the sign of thought. Poetry, music, art are symbolic. They suggest more than they actually express. When the tendency of symbolism is to suggest something beyond and above itself, it is legitimate and wholesome. But the dangers of symbolism are obvious. (a) In the direction of elaboration. The more difficult and spiritual the thing to be symbolized, the more elaborate the symbolism is apt to become. Instead of being an open window to the sky, it becomes a veil whose elaborate design attracts and holds the eye to itself. This is the danger of ceremonialism in worship. (b) In the direction of materialization. Instead of assisting the mind to rise through the material to the spiritual, it panders to the weakness of the mind by conforming the spiritual to the material. Instead of kindling the imagination, it quenches it. This is the danger of idolatry. The history of Israel, with its calf-worship, shows the effects of the latter tendency. The history

of Judah, with its imageless worship, but elaborate ceremonial, shows the evils of the former tendency. The meaning of the prophetic movement is found in its opposition to both tendencies. In the Roman Catholic form of Christianity the same dangers are manifested in a crass and obvious form. Rome, like ancient Israel, expresses its instincts in *material* symbols of ceremonial and image-worship, and oftentimes with as fatal consequences. But is not Protestantism exposed to parallel or analogous dangers, though in a more refined and subtler form? Protestantism expresses its instincts in *intellectual* symbols, as the creeds have often been called, as signs of Christian faith. These also have their place and uses. They seek to clarify our ideas of God. But most of our creeds have been born in sectarian controversy. They often superficially clarify only because they limit the idea of God. The God of these creeds, while in form the God of the whole earth, is in essence an intellectual idol, for in them definition becomes limitation, and limitation is of the essence of idolatry. The present demand for simplification in theology and creedal statement is in line with the prophetic movement in its desire to pass beyond both the material form and the purely intellectual formula to a more spiritual religion.

2. Two other lessons may be learned from this chapter: (a) The supreme *disgrace* of religious leadership—to be molded by rather than to mold popular opinion, symbolized by Aaron. (b) The supreme *glory* of religious leadership—the willingness to be blotted out for the sake of one's fellow-men, symbolized by Moses. Only before such a man does God's angel go.

Current Opinion

Development of the Conception of Christ in the Gospels

Rev. W. C. Allen, of Oxford University, author of the new *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, shows how the apostolic conception of Jesus grew during the apostolic age, as evidenced by the advanced view of Christ which the Gospel of Matthew presents as compared with the Gospel of Mark. He says: It is evident that contemplation of the life of the Lord, and reflection upon his person and work, and all that it meant for human life; and the deepening reverence that springs spontaneously from the life of meditation upon his words and from spiritual communion with him, and from worship of God in his name, were gradually leading Christian writers, partly to refine and purify, partly to make careful choice, of the language in which they described his life. In connection with his Sacred Person the choicest words only must be used—choicest not for splendor or beauty of sound or of suggestion, but as conveying in the simplest and most direct way the greatest amount of truth about him with the least admixture of wrong emphasis. In this respect the Synoptic Gospels present in miniature the same process that afterward took place on a larger scale in the history of the creeds. Already the gospel-writers found themselves committed to the task of describing the life of One whom they knew to have been a truly human person, whom yet they believed to have been an incarnation of the Eternal.

The Use of the Logia in the Gospel of Matthew

In addition, Mr. Allen confirms the commonly accepted hypothesis that our first gospel is based chiefly upon the Gospel of Mark and the Matthaean Logia. The Gospel of Mark has been taken up almost wholly into the first gospel, with little rearrangement, but with a large amount of minute modification. The Matthaean Logia was also taken up quite fully and arranged in connection with the Mark material. So that our first gospel as regards its narrative material is chiefly taken from the Gospel of Mark, and as regards its discourse material is chiefly taken from the Logia. The Matthaean Logia, Mr. Allen says, was a collection of Christ's teachings containing isolated sayings, sayings grouped into discourses, and parables. If there was any particular arrangement or order observed, it is of course not possible now to rediscover it. One of the longer discourses was probably the Sermon on the Mount; but as this now stands in the first gospel

it has been enlarged by the editor, who has inserted sayings from other parts of the Logia. There were also in all probability in the Logia a group of eschatological sayings, and groups of parables. The view is preferred that the Logia was written in Aramaic; however, the editor of the first gospel did not himself translate this Aramaic into Greek, but used a Greek translation of it. He thinks Luke also used the Logia, but that he worked from a different Greek form of it.

New Knowledge upon the New Testament from the Papyri

Professor Adolf Deissmann, of the University of Heidelberg, who is making such helpful contributions to New Testament study by gathering the evidence from the recently recovered inscriptions and papyri of New Testament times, says this new light has a threefold direct value: (1) It has taught us to judge rightly of the language of the New Testament, which is written in the non-literary speech of the people; (2) It has heightened our appreciation of these non-literary writings by teaching us to distinguish between popular and artistic varieties of literary work; (3) It has taught us to reconstruct with fairness and greater accuracy the popular religious environment in which the great religious transformation produced by Christianity took place. We now see primitive Christianity, not with dogmatic theological eyes, but with sympathy for simple religion, especially for the vigorous religion of the masses. We now recognize that the character of Jesus is wholly, and that that of Paul is practically, untheological and predogmatic, the primitive Christianity having a lofty simplicity.

The Advance in New Testament Lexicography

In the same article, in the *Expository Times* for April, Professor Deissmann speaks strongly of the need of a new lexicon of New Testament Greek. Without failing to recognize the valuable work that has been done in this line since Pasor published the first special lexicon of the New Testament in 1619 down to the latest lexicon, by Thayer in 1887, he shows how the recently recovered material and the advance of philological science make it necessary for us to go once more completely over the ground of New Testament lexicography and produce an entirely new lexicon. It is to be recognized that every word has its history, and that this history must be searched out from the earliest time in which we can trace it, through the various stages of its use, until it finds a place in the New Testament. No work can be too careful or too exhaustive when the object is to re-create the background to any saying of Jesus or Paul or John whereby we may determine how men of the first Christian century understood and were bound to understand them.

Theological Tendencies

Recent numbers of the *Homiletic Review* have a symposium on "Present-Day Theology," in which Professors James Orr, H. C. Sheldon, W. N. Clarke, W. F. Adeney, and others set forth what seem to them to be the essentials of present-day theology as a system of faith in the church. There is not much satisfaction in this symposium for Dr. Campbell. Perhaps this is as it should be. The position taken by Dr. Campbell in his recent volume, *New Theology*, is not that of the church at large, and is not even that of the progressive wing of the church. It is always unsafe to generalize from one's own individual position to that of the church, or even a school in the church. Conservatives are as much to be reckoned with as radicals. The discussion just now on in England is not likely to be duplicated in America. In this country theology is moving along a different line, and is more in the hands of really systematic and unrhetoical thinkers. The theology of the preacher and that of the teacher of theology are not always the same, but in the long run it will be the preacher that will give the set to theological opinion. The symposium indicates that theology in America is proceeding more cautiously, and with larger respect for the findings of the past, than in Great Britain. Even the American radical is more under the influence of Ritschl than that of the neo-Hegelians.

Ordination Tests and Christian Union

Sir Oliver Lodge, who is just now doing yeoman service in making religion scientific and science religious, has an important article in the *Hibbert Journal* for April on the reform of the church. He thinks that the great changes needed in the church are larger spontaneity in church worship, more liberal education for ministers, the pruning or simplification of tests, the development of true beneficence, and a stalwart opposition to all abuse of power.

The test which he proposes for ordination would be:

Here solemnly, in the face of this congregation, I declare before Almighty God, to whose Holy Will I entirely submit myself, that I long for Christ's ideal of the kingdom of heaven upon earth; and, God helping me, I will with all my power and ability strive to this end and to no other, with such wisdom as it may please the Holy Spirit to confer upon me; for whose guidance I will always pray to the Father, in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The test, it will be noticed, contains no doctrinal element beyond the kingdom of God and the implied reference to the Trinity. The last clause, "the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ," however, opens the door to a good deal of theology, if desired. Evidently it is Sir Oliver's idea that the

church shall stand for the elemental rather than the derived truths of religion.

Theoretically, such simplification is highly desirable; practically, the question is bound to arise whether its proposal is anything more than academic idealism. It would be difficult, as men are now constituted, for any church to develop much enthusiasm for itself on the elementals of religion. Whether we like it or not, as a matter of fact, the thing which arouses the largest enthusiasm for church organization is not the fundamental truths of Christianity, but the doctrinal position of some body of Christians. In other words, ecclesiastical enthusiasm is not born of elemental religious principles, but of peculiar tenets. It is to be hoped that such a situation is changing; but we have not yet reached the stage where it is passed. One of the largest duties which lie before the Christian ministry today is the education of interest in religion itself, and the transformation of denominational enthusiasm into religious enthusiasm.

Work and Workers

PROFESSOR AMBROSE W. VERNON, professor of biblical literature in Dartmouth College, has accepted a professorship in Yale Divinity School.

DR. HERMANN GUNKEL, of Berlin, has been called to the chair of Old Testament at Giessen, left vacant by the death of Stade. Professor Stade's work as editor of the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* has been undertaken by Dr. Karl Marti, of Bern.

PROFESSOR FRANCIS BROWN, D.D., of Union Theological Seminary, is to be the director of the American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem for next year. Benjamin W. Robinson has been awarded the Thayer Fellowship in the school for the ensuing year, 1907-8.

UNDER date of March 18, Professor Herbert L. Willett writes from Suez that he and his party of nine have just completed a most interesting and satisfactory trip through the Sinai peninsula. The Palestine Study Class of twenty-two members was to start in a few days for its tour through the Holy Land.

MR. R. A. STEWART MACALISTER has obtained from the Turkish government a firman authorizing him to recommence excavating at Gezer. He began work in April. There is great reason to hope that the next two years will yield even more valuable results than the previous three years of work at Tell el Jezereh.

A NEW periodical has recently appeared, the *Magazine of Christian Art*. It is an illustrated monthly, published by John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia. The magazine aims to cover the entire field of art in its relation to religion, and will treat of architecture, painting, sculpture in stone and wood, stained glass, heraldry, music and liturgies, with critical essays on the theory of Christian Art as applied to these various fields.

THE efforts of the American Bible Society in the Philippine Islands are producing interesting results. The work of translating and publishing the Bible, in whole or in part, in eight different dialects, and distributing 600,000 copies throughout the islands, has been undertaken in response to the call of the missionaries, who testify to the healthy demands for the Bible on the part of the Filipinos. The government is doing much for the education of these people by establishing industrial and agricultural schools, courts, provincial and municipal governments; but it is the Christian missionary to whom is given the duty of training in moral character.

IN the death of Professor Friedrich Blass, which occurred at Halle the day after the close of the winter semester in March, classical philology lost one of its strongest supporters. He was one of the foremost scholars, having published many important volumes, covering a large part of the field of classical study. Born at Osnabrück in 1843, he studied at Göttingen and Bonn, was connected with several gymnasia, and in 1892 became professor at Halle—a position which he filled to the hour of his death. Professor Blass made his reputation as a classical scholar, especially by his work on the Greek orators (*Griechische Beredsamkeit in dem Zeitraum von Alexander bis auf Augustus*). He gained fame as a paleographer by deciphering a papyrus fragment of an ode by Alcman, and has been the chief political advisor in the publications of the Graeco-Roman branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund. It was not until the later years of his life that he turned his attention to the New Testament field. But his previous work had equipped him for making highly valuable contributions to New Testament study, and this he did with rapidity. His *Commentary on Acts*, published in 1895, is an important contribution to the study of the text and history; his *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, which passed to a second revised edition, was translated into English, and has served a most useful purpose. These are his two chief contributions to the New Testament field, but he has furnished not a few smaller volumes upon questions of the text and of the interpretation. He was a man of devout faith, and throughout his life had been interested in religious matters. Students of the New Testament will therefore feel Professor Blass's loss only less than students of the classical languages. Since he has been at Halle, many American students have acquired in his classroom their philological enthusiasm and training.

The American Institute of Sacred Literature

BIBLE STUDY SUNDAY

As year after year the same general subject comes before the pastor for presentation to his church on some special day set for it, there are invariably many who experience a feeling of reluctance at the thought of working up a new sermon on an old theme. This is particularly true when the theme is one in which the points to be made are so obvious as in the subject of the necessity or desirability of Bible study.

It is interesting, therefore, to notice the great variety of special themes and the different points of view from which this subject was approached in sermons actually preached on Bible Study Sunday in 1906. The themes given below are but a few selected from a large number, as suggestive in character.

From the point of view of history: How the Bible originated; our German Bible, our English Bible; the Bible as a book with a history needing to be studied in the light of that history; Josiah's revival in Bible study; Christ's call to Bible study; the debt of modern civilization to the Bible; Christ revealed alone in Scripture: a reason for Bible study.

From the point of view of the Bible as literature: A course of five sermons: where we got our Bible, sources of the Old Testament, sources of the New Testament, contents of the Old Testament, contents of the New Testament; our inheritance in the Old Testament; the Bible: a study in literary values; the place of the Bible in the literature of the civilized world; sacred literature: how to study it; the supreme book; the word of God grew.

In the field of biblical interpretation: What saith the Word of God? some principles of biblical interpretation; the literal interpretation of the Bible; the aid of the Spirit in seeing wondrous things in God's Word; the real Bible and its message; the ruling ideas of the Bible; the Bible and modern thought.

The value of the Bible as related to education is a strong modern appeal. The following themes present that phase of Bible study: our sources of Christian knowledge; a knowledge of the Bible necessary to acceptable service for God; the use of the Scriptures in religious development; Bible study: its importance from the point of view of education; the importance of the Bible from the standpoint of general culture; religious education a revival; the textbook of the Bible school; educational ideas in the Bible

school; Jesus' statement of the cause of error; how to make the Bible real; necessity for co-operation of parents in the Sunday school.

Concerning the Bible in relation to life we have: the positive need of sane Bible study and its effect upon the individual, the church, and social life; the message of the Bible to the present age; Bible study: the condition of strong, useful, happy, Christian lives; the best in life comes from studying the best; the culture of the soul; investment and income; the message of the Bible essential to good citizenship; what fifteen minutes of Bible study each day will do for me; keep your vineyard.

The following are not classified: moral purpose leads to the study of moral things; the church studying the Bible; some aspects of the Bible as a popular book, as a library, as a record of human experience, as a covenant, as a revelation, as a companion; the unshaken Bible; what has God to show humanity through the Bible; the Bible as an unexcelled field for literary, historical, and social study; the Bible, its structure, its permanent character, its influence.

The texts used were in only a few cases reported, yet here also an unexpected variety appears: Ex. 15:17; Josh. 1:8; Ps. 119: 41, 47, 97, 105, 130, 131, 165; Prov. 3:1-6; Ps. 1:2; Isa. 55:11; Neh. 8:18; John 5:39, 40; Mark 12:24; Acts 17:11; 20:32; Col. 3:16; II Tim. 3:15, 16, 17; II Peter 1:4. The INSTITUTE would be glad to receive suggestions of other themes or texts appropriate for use on Bible Study Sunday.

Some interesting new books have appeared in the field of general biblical criticism during the last year. The following are popular in character and suggestive to one who wishes to preach upon Bible study: Vernon, *The Religious Value of the Old Testament*; Price, *The Ancestry of Our English Bible*; Selleck, *The New Appreciation of the Bible*; Waring, *Christianity and Its Bible*; Houghton, *Hebrew Life and Thought*. Suggestive material will also be found in the editorials of the *Biblical World* for August, November, December, 1906, and January to April, 1907. An article, "The True and Permanent Significance of the Old Testament," by Eduard König, appeared in the February number. By consulting the full index to the *Biblical World*, published in the December number, reference will be found to many editorials and articles of value upon the subject of Bible study. *Religious Education*, a bi-monthly journal published by the Religious Education Association, also contains articles upon the progress of biblical study in various fields. The *Quarterly Bulletin* of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE for March contains statistics of the work accomplished by that organization. The *Quarterly Bulletin* for June will be devoted almost entirely to material relating to Bible Study Sunday.

Book Reviews

Paths to Power: Central Church Sermons. By FRANK W. GUNSAULUS, D. D. New York, Chicago and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1905. Pp. 362. \$1.25.

The Eye for Spiritual Things, and Other Sermons. By HENRY MELVILL GWATKIN, M.A., D. D., Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906. Pp. 261. \$1.50 net.

The Evangel of the New Theology. By T. RHONDDA WILLIAMS. London: W. Daniel; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905. Pp. 266. \$1.50 net.

The Church and the Times: Sermons. By REV. ROBERT FRANCIS COYLE, D. D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1905. Pp. 307. \$1.50.

Paths to Power has the indefinable charm of its eloquent author. The magnificent sweep of language, the color of imagination, and the burning passion which yearns over men, divining their struggles and voicing their aspirations, cannot be described or retold. Biblical characters and incidents stand out with marvelous freshness. There are profound intuitions into revelation, history, and the moral experiences of men, all enforced by a wealth of literary reference. The style has a sustained movement throughout, with here and there incisive utterances which fall like blows from a trip-hammer.

Yet the strength of the book is its weakness. It is too wordy, imaginative, and passionate. Thought is not sufficiently clear and comprehensive to serve as a basis for enduring emotional power. After reading one of these stirring sermons the mind strives in vain to grasp and retain the definite truth imparted. This weakness is fundamental, and is far from being relieved by the fact that the average sermon is some 7,500 words in length. Then the method of interpreting the Bible, under the spell of rhetorical power, comes very near being allegory. The book is inspirational rather than informing, and its power might have been vastly increased by gripping the intellect more vigorously even at some sacrifice of rhetoric.

The "central thought" of *The Eye for Spiritual Things and Other Sermons* is stated as follows: "The knowledge of God is not to be earned by sacrificing reason to feeling, or feeling to reason, by ascetic observance or by orthodox belief;" but is freely given to all who "purify themselves."

Further, the personal influence of Christ (faith) is the source of all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works, "though the doers be those who never heard his name."

These sermons read like university chapel talks, as indeed some of them are. They are brief, practical discourses on various religious truths by a modern man. The author belongs to the liberal branch of the Church of England and speaks in no uncertain way of "the suicides who go over to Rome." The treatment is clear and suggestive, showing a mind acquainted with historical theology and at home in the modern world. Some quotations will illustrate both spirit and style: "You will not see God in earth or heaven till you have seen him in your own heart . . . however sound and orthodox your parrot-cries may be" (p. 6). "Is it because there is not a God in England that we inquire so timidly at Rome?" (p. 24). . . . "God has never asked . . . to be believed without regard to reason, and obeyed without regard to conscience" (p. 54). "We are simply unbelieving when we cling like drowning men to truth of other days which cannot be God's message to ourselves" (p. 51). "So far as it goes, the scientific spirit is the Christian spirit" (p. 92).

Fresh as are these views and pungent their expression, the book has some lame exegesis and muddy thinking. John is made to teach (p. 65) that Jesus would come suddenly, but not soon ($\tau\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon}$, Rev. 22:20 and elsewhere in Rev.). It is even more surprising to read that faith in a physical resurrection is based on the fact that the body shares in God's covenant through circumcision and baptism (p. 212). A further reference to baptism (p. 248) shows a mind not fully emancipated from ritualism; while the distinction between morality and religion (p. 221) is superficial.

The author of *The Evangel of the New Theology*, as indicated in a brief autobiographical reference, reached a distressing crisis in his spiritual experience, due to dissatisfaction with traditional views; and after prolonged struggle he came into a "sense of emancipation," of absolute "honesty," and of assured "faith in the eternal goodness of God" (p. 112). A master of English, he combines also philosophical insight, historical perspective, and acquaintance with the results of biblical criticism. The sermons of this volume are written from the modern point of view, as regards the nature and authority of the Bible, emphasis on spiritual reality as distinguished from theoretical and dogmatic formulations, the social side of ethics and religion, and the mission of organized Christianity. In one way or another the whole realm of modern religious thought is touched upon with profound discrimination. The book will prove exceed-

ingly helpful to all who desire a clear and sane statement on vital matters from the modern point of view.

A single quotation must suffice:

Christian discipleship, what is it? Entering with Jesus into the consciousness of the Divine Fatherhood; sharing with Jesus the assurance of divine help; working with Jesus for the uplifting of man; taking sides with Jesus against selfishness and impurity; losing the life of personal aggrandizement and selfish personal advantage, . . . in the larger life of world-service, and so finding salvation in love (p. 93).

As a group of sermons, however, it would seem that the book gives undue emphasis to intellect and does not sufficiently appeal to the deeper things of the heart. Also, the use of Scripture is not large.

The Church and the Times is disappointing. This collection of miscellaneous and ordinary sermons hardly justifies the choice of the title. In its own words, the book is a plea for "a heaven-born, thoroughgoing, unremitting evangelism"; but with few exceptions—for example, a stirring call to foreign missions—the treatment does not grip or inspire. There are striking errors, however, and such as are being made on every hand today, from which readers may profit by way of warning. For example, on p. 188 we read: "Men may laugh at the Eden story and make merry over the biblical explanation of sin; but until they can furnish a better one their sneers only reveal their shallowness." This smacks of playing to the galleries and leaves a very narrow margin between caricature and untruthfulness. Again as regards the remark (p. 192), "I am old-fashioned enough to believe," it should be evident to all that such an accentuation of personal fashion has nothing to do with the gospel. Or, the statement (p. 271), "There are people who call sin by soft names . . . missing the mark, and other such euphemisms . . .," can be pardoned only on the ground of ignorance as to the original meaning of ἀμαρτάνω. For exaggeration and ambiguity the following statement (p. 229) is hard to beat: "This whole story of Eden is as true as the principles of geometry, if we pierce the shell of it and get to that which lies beneath." Such unthinking words as these might pass without notice, did one not feel that they are partly responsible for the distress and confusion of our times, and that their only effect must be to strengthen prejudice and to perplex humble seekers after the truth.

In reading these four books, fairly representative of the religious thought of our time, one is deeply impressed with a sense of their unity. In all are found an emphasis on spiritual experience rather than on dogma; the view held more or less consciously that salvation is for and through

personality; dissatisfaction with traditional views of the atonement, or, at least, an earnest desire for more light at this point; and a groping to find the true relation between personal faith and historical fact. Such unity between men widely separated by place and ecclesiastical affiliation is one of the most hopeful signs of our time. Likewise, one is impressed with the necessary qualifications of him who would speak to the deepest life of men today. He must be able to appropriate the wealth of spiritual truth found in the Scriptures and make it available for modern men; and to do this he should have an organic conception of revelation as found in the Bible, he should have the gift of historic imagination, and an acquaintance with the principles and methods of higher criticism, sufficient to appropriate its assured results. He must also have sufficient training in historical theology to be able wisely to deliver himself and others from the fetters of traditionalism. And, crown of all, he must have such a deep spiritual experience as shall become a consuming passion.

E. A. HANLEY

CLEVELAND, O.

Ecclesiastes in the Metre of Omar; with an Introductory Essay on Ecclesiastes and the Rubaiyat. By WILLIAM BYRON FORBUSH. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906. Pp. 105. \$1.25.

The comparison of Ecclesiastes to Omar Khayyam began to suggest itself almost immediately after Fitzgerald's translation of the Persian poet was given to the world. In an expository way that comparison has been drawn in some detail by various writers, and has proven interesting. The present author now carries the process a step farther, and undertakes to present the thought, or rather some of the moods, of Ecclesiastes in the actual medium of Omar and Fitzgerald. He, as it were, decants the one vintage into the other, and then invites us to exercise our connoisseurship on the flavor of the Hebrew-Persian mixture. To those looking for detailed light on the interpretation of Ecclesiastes, the book, considered as in the category of biblical helps, will be disappointing. It is adapted rather to those of sufficient literary training to read a book by its feeling and atmosphere, as one listens to music. It is the product of the double task of translating prose into poetry, and of emphasizing the similarity of such poetry to that of another author. The result is not simply Ecclesiastes in meter; for Ecclesiastes does not demand expression in meter at all until its essentially prosaic character and aura are exchanged for that of poetry. So radical a change amounts to substitution rather than translation; one looks in vain for one's familiar Bible in the strange imagery of bagpipes,

and whirling show-figures, and Bedawin camp-fires, and rounded breasts twined with rose garlands.

Then the attempt to make poetry that has been distilled from prose similar in flavor to other poetry derived from an entirely different source can hardly help having its effect on the selection and reproduction of characteristic moods of its original. The author is enamored of Omar; he dedicates his book to one who "too has loved him," and who with him has known his "lone, unshackl'd Heart," and dared his "noble, piteous Scorn." To glorify Ecclesiastes by attiring him in the garb of such a favorite is almost inevitably to exaggerate his Omareque qualities, until one feels that the ensemble is not a fair representation of Koheleth. Some isolated stanzas are noble expressions of the biblical author's mood, but the total effect is that of disproportion. The Omarated tincture of Ecclesiastes in its concentrated state has an exaggerated flavor of Omaric scorn, of pessimism, of agnosticism, especially with regard to God's care of man, of contempt of woman, of which the Bible has scarcely a trace, of Epicurean praise of sensuality. Ecclesiastes finds the world vanity so far as perceptible surplus to be banked on after death is concerned, but he does not judge it so contemptible as to yield to the eternal quest only the "mad Fool's crackling laugh." The God who in the unreduced Ecclesiastes has already accepted our work, and whose precious gift is our wise joy of eating and drinking and worthy labor, is surely nearer and more compassionate than the coldly tranquil Power of the Forbush version, who sees us fall from earth's sieve like desert sand, with no sign that "He above regardeth it." It is especially sought to make Ecclesiastes adumbrate the glory of Omar in the possession of a "lone, unshakl'd Heart;" he furnishes the shining instance in the Bible of a "book written by a man who was freely permitted to think." But let us not too precipitately admit the assumption that the only thing worthy the name of thought is the unsystematic registering of one's most bilious moods, and the defiant assertion of a boastful agnosticism as the only wisdom. One may be a thinker without being so scornful of less original minds as to call unspeculative religion "the vows of Fools, the Levites' empty din," or so impatient of finite dependence as to restrict intellectual integrity to "wild surges of the soul" that are proud of coming to no conclusion.

GEORGE F. GENUNG

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New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

MONTGOMERY, J. A. *The Samaritans: The Earliest Jewish Sect, Their History, Theology, and Literature.* [The Bohlen Lectures for 1906.] Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1907. Pp. xiv+358.

This is the most full and careful presentation in existence of the facts concerning the Samaritans. It is a mine of information. The author has apparently overlooked nothing. The method and style are clear and simple, and the book deserves a place in any library.

WARING, HENRY F. *Christianity and Its Bible: A Textbook and for Private Reading.* [Constructive Bible Studies, Advanced and Supplementary Series.] Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907. Pp. xv+369. \$1.

A successful pastor here tries to present a work that shall meet the great need for "a survey of the whole religious field in a small, readable, trustworthy book." The task is well done, and the book will be of great value to all who are thoughtfully interested in its theme. The scope of the book may be learned from its three great subdivisions: I, "The Bible and Its Times;" II, "Christianity Since Bible Times;" III, "Christianity Today."

BREEN, A. E. *A Diary of My Life in the Holy Land.* Rochester, N. Y.: A. E. Breen, 1907. Pp. xv+637. \$4.50.

This is a miscellany of interesting and uninteresting things concerning Palestine of today. It is absolutely chaotic, as its title suggests. It has no table of contents, and the index is ridiculously limited, in view of the immense mass of materials that

the book contains and the total lack of system in their presentation. There are more than 300 splendid illustrations. The author's point of view is that of an intelligent Catholic priest.

ARTICLES

MAYOR, J. B. Virgil and Isaiah: An Enquiry into the Sources of the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil. *Expositor*, April, 1907, pp. 289-311.

An attempt to show that Virgil's picture of a coming golden age was more or less directly dependent upon the messianic utterances in the Book of Isaiah.

OESTERLEY, W. O. E. The Demonology of the Old Testament. *Ibid.*, pp. 316-32.

The first of a series of three articles intended to demonstrate from the Old Testament record that a belief in the existence and power of demons was once common in Israel.

DELONG, I. H. Prohibitory Food Laws in Israel. *Reformed Church Review*, April, 1907, pp. 222-28.

A sketch of the modern view that the prohibition of certain foods was due to religious conceptions rather than to hygienic principles. The explanation of clean and unclean animals is to be sought in totemism, tabu, and the like.

MERRINS, E. M. The Patience of Job. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, 1907, pp. 224-49.

An ingenious theory by a physician that Job's disease was not leprosy nor elephantiasis, but syphilis; and that, therefore, the nature of the disease itself laid Job under grievous suspicion and rendered his physical sufferings doubly hard to bear.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

ROUND, DOUGLAS. The date of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. Cambridge: University Press, 1906. Pp. 72. 2s. net.

It is urged that Galatians was written from Antioch before the Council at Jerusalem and the second missionary journey, that is about 49-50

A. D. The argument is especially directed against certain elements in Ramsay's position.

Addresses on the Gospel of John. Delivered in Providence, R. I., at Eight Conferences, 1903-4. With appendix. Providence: St. John Conference Committee, 1906. Pp. xvi+505. \$1.25. These sixty-five lectures, studies, and sermons

by more than fifty different scholars and preachers bear fresh evidence to the perennial religious worth of the Fourth Gospel.

FORBES, A. P. The Johannine Literature and the Acts of the Apostles. (International Handbooks to the New Testament, edited by Orello Cone; Vol. IV.) New York: Putnam, 1907. Pp. vii + 375. \$2.00 net.

Concise and useful introductions and commentaries prepared from the critical point of view. The literature discussed is assigned to the half century subsequent to 90 A. D.

MAYOR, JOSEPH B. The Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter. New York: Macmillan, 1907. \$4.50 net.

Professor Mayor's commentary presents the Greek text of these epistles, abundantly annotated, together with an extended introduction. The propriety of treating these two epistles together is obvious in view of their close literary relationship. Professor Mayor discusses fully the relationship of II Peter to I Peter, concluding, with most scholars, that they are from different hands.

ARTICLES

BRÜCKNER, M. Die Petrus Erzählungen im Markusevangelium. *Zeitschrift für*

die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1907 (VIII, 1), pp. 48-65.

It is urged that the ostensibly Petrine elements in Mark much less probably reflect the testimony of Peter than do the teachings and experiences which were shared by none but Jesus' closest followers, and with which the evangelist does not expressly connect Peter.

CARR, ARTHUR. The Testimony of St. John to the Virgin Birth of Our Lord. *Expositor*, April, 1907, pp. 311-16.

The use made of the phrase "only-begotten" in the Gospel of John is appealed to as reflecting the author's belief in the virgin-birth of Jesus.

MANSUR, ASAD. The Site of Capernaum. *Ibid.*, pp. 360-73.

Fresh evidence for Tell-Hum as the site of Capernaum.

CASE, SHIRLEY J. Paul's Historical Relation to the First Disciples. *American Journal of Theology*, 1907, pp. 260-86.

Paul's intercourse with Jesus' immediate personal followers is shown to have been amply sufficient to acquaint him with the life of the historical Jesus and their interpretation of that life. His Christianity cannot therefore be reasonably considered wholly independent of theirs.

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